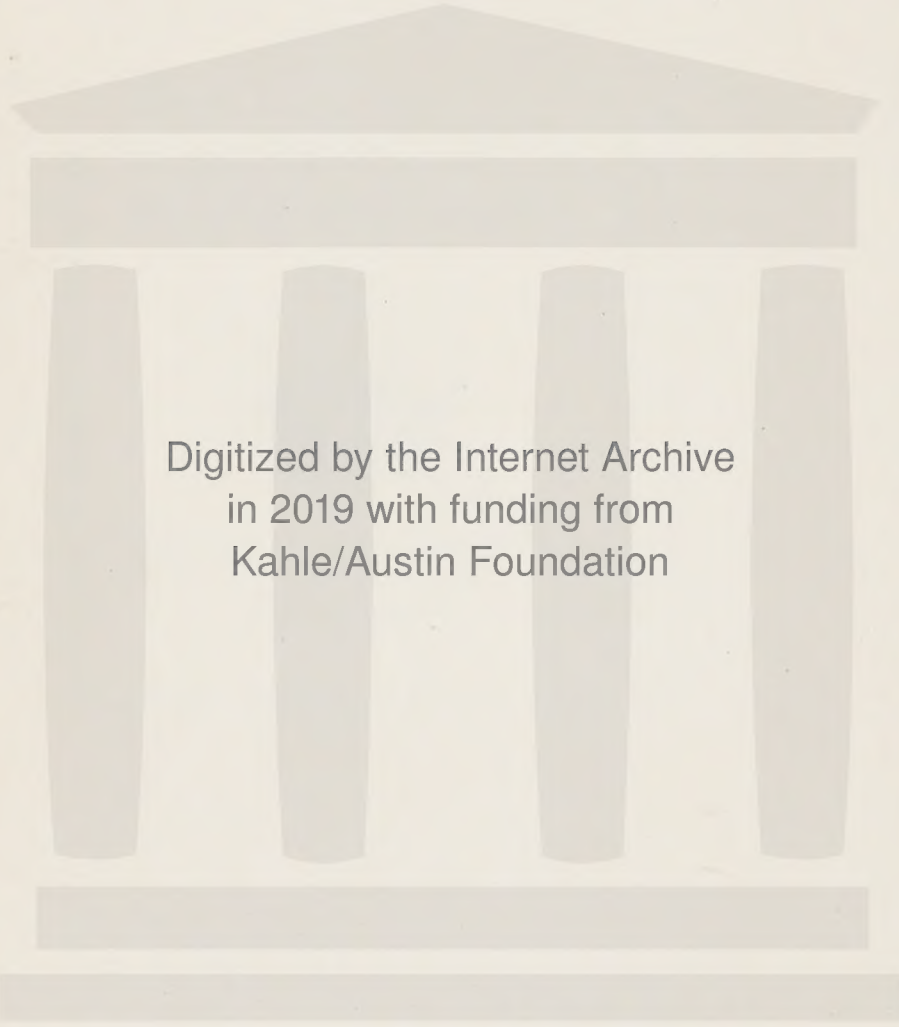


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ANNUAL MEETING

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

LE QUATRIÈME CENTENAIRE DE LA DÉCOUVERTE DU CANADA

PAR L'HONORABLE RODOLPHE LEMIEUX

Il y aura bientôt quatre siècles, en effet, Jacques Cartier, le "voyageur" de Saint-Malo, découvrait le Canada. C'est en 1534 qu'il partit de la ville des corsaires pour accomplir son premier voyage au Nouveau-Monde et planter des croix dans le sol canadien.

Et Jacques Cartier possède des titres innombrables à notre affection et à notre reconnaissance. Non seulement il a découvert le Canada, remonté, le premier blanc, le grand fleuve Saint-Laurent jusqu'à Montréal, donné des noms à notre pays, à nos îles, à nos caps, à nos baies. Mais il fut encore notre premier défricheur et notre premier colon. N'est-ce pas au cours de son troisième voyage que mettant au travail une vingtaine d'hommes, il fit abattre les arbres sur une étendue d'une acre et demie et l'ensemencer?

Du Canada, il fut encore le premier historien, et, comme nous dirions aujourd'hui, le premier et l'un des plus glorieux publicistes. Le récit de ses voyages écrit dans le style naïf et primesautier de Montaigne, contient des descriptions d'un charme si savoureux qu'elles ont conservé leur fraîcheur à travers les siècles écoulés. Traduites en plusieurs langues, ces relations apprirent à l'ancien monde les ressources et les beautés du continent occidental.

Mais ce n'est pas tout encore. Jacques Cartier fut le premier historien des nations indiennes du Canada et leur premier apôtre. Il observa leurs coutumes, leurs mœurs; il apprit un peu leur langue. A Gaspé, il prêcha par signes; à Montréal, il répandit un peu la bonne parole par l'intermédiaire de deux mauvais interprètes. Par le Saint-Laurent découvert, comme dit Georges Goyau, la religion romaine s'introduisit et pénétra dans le continent américain.

Puis, navigateur habile, il consigna soigneusement ses observations. Il dressa les rudiments d'une carte du Canada. Il exécuta des sondages qui seraient utiles aux futures "navigations".

Jacques Cartier, c'est le nom que nous avons tous lu, enfants, sur le piédestal de la première statue qui orne le vestibule de notre galerie de héros. Figure un peu mystérieuse, flottant dans le brouillard de l'inconnu. Mais les traits trop peu nombreux sur lesquels la science a pu jeter sa lumière sont puissants, nets, taillés dans le plus pur granit de la Bretagne.

Jacques Cartier était natif de Saint-Malo, la fière ville emmurée, la patrie des corsaires, de Duguay-Trouin, de Surcouf, des écumeurs sanglants des mers. Marié à Catherine des Granches, le "sieur de Limoilou" comme on l'appelait quelquefois, habitait une modeste gentilhommière que j'ai eu

le plaisir de visiter, à sept milles de Saint-Malo, aux limites des paroisses de Paramé et de Saint-Coulomb. Elle était alors habitée par un nommé Parent, nom bien canadien. De ce point culminant d'une colline modérée, sa vue s'étendait sur la ville, la pointe de Varde et sur l'Atlantique, alors mystérieuse, dont les brumes cachaient des mondes inconnus.

Avant de visiter notre pays, il avait probablement, comme le laissent entendre divers passages de ses récits, navigué longuement et peut-être vu le Brésil. Mais ce que l'on sait de science certaine, c'est que le 20 avril 1534, il s'embarquait avec une soixantaine de compagnons, dans deux navires "du port d'environ soixante tonneaux chacun pour le descouvrement" des terres neuves.

Le récit de cette première navigation est si poétique par endroits, si plein de charme, que je ne puis m'empêcher de suivre longtemps le grand navigateur. Cinglant en ligne directe vers l'Occident, il frappe Terre-Neuve au cap Bonavista, puis remonte lentement vers le Nord. Voyons-le voguer par ces mers froides et vertes où il voit se dessiner la forme indistincte des pays mystérieux. Voici l'île des "Ouaiseaux" où nichent les grands pingouins, les fous de Bassan, les macareux, les cormorans, les "margaultx"; il y a des oiseaux partout, dans l'air, avec leurs belles ailes blanches, sur les îles, dans l'eau, gloussant et sauvages, belle voilière éternelle qu'il dessine d'un pinceau sûr. De grands ours blancs nagent dans la mer, de grands ours noirs aussi. Les matelots salent quatre ou cinq "pippes" de grands pingouins pour augmenter les provisions. Les navires se dirigent vers le Nord. Ils pénètrent dans la "Baye des Chasteaux", comme on nommait alors le détroit de Belle-Isle. Ils atteignent la côte du Labrador, sombre dédale d'îles, de détroits pittoresques, où Cartier ne voit que "Rochiers... mal rabottez"; car "en toute la dite côte du nord, je n'y vy une chareté de terre." Et enfin, il voit et découvre l'île Verte qui, plus tard, quatre siècles après, deviendra si célèbre pour avoir vu se poser un avion venant d'Europe.

Ces rivages inhospitaliers, les deux navires les abandonnent pour suivre la côte ouest de Terre-Neuve et descendre vers le sud. Et les bons marins observent ces "terres à montaignes moult haultes et effarables", ils pêchent les grosses molues, ils chassent les loups marins, les walrus qui dorment au soleil près des rivages.

Obliquant vers le sud-ouest, les navires suivent la chaîne des îles, les indolentes Madeleines, rouges et vertes sur les eaux marines; puis, descendant toujours, ils frappent tout à coup l'île Saint-Jean qui émerveille les yeux. "Toute ycelle terre est basse et "unye, la plus belle qu'il soit possible de voir, et plaine "de beaulx arbres et prairies". Mais ce spectacle si beau ne les retient pas longtemps. Tournant brusquement vers l'ouest, Jacques Cartier atteint la côte du Nouveau-Brunswick et remonte de nouveau vers le nord.

Il s'en va, cherchant le "passaige" vers l'Asie et les âmes à sauver, devinant confusément le contour des îles et des baies, palpant le continent, tâtonnant dans ce monde inconnu. Et, tout à coup, par-dessus l'île de Miscou, "apersumes, dit-il, aultres terres et cap, qui nous demeuroiet au nort, ung cart du nordest, tout alla veue... Entre lesquelles basse terres et les haultes, y abvoiet une grande baye et ouverture". Quelle terre voyait ainsi s'élever Jacques Cartier dans le lointain sombre et indistinct? C'était le Cap d'Espoir, la douce Gaspésie, cette région si pittoresque, si magnifique, qui m'est chère à tant de titres. Jacques Cartier avait eu la première "vision gaspésienne".

Et le tier jour de juillet, Jacques Cartier traverse la grande ouverture qui n'était autre que l'entrée de la baie des Chaleurs, et il vogue sur une mer caressante "devers la mort" qui est une terre haulte à montaignes, toute "plaine de arbres de haulte fustaille, de plusieurs sortes; et entre "aultres, il y a plusieurs cèdres et pruches, aussi beaulx qu'il soict possible "de voir, pour faire matz."

Et le "quart jour... jour sainct Martin", entrons avec lui, toutes voiles déployées, à Port Daniel, "une petite Baye et conche de terre".

De là il rayonne aux alentours. Il se rend à Paspébiac, puis le neuf juillet, dit-il, "esquippames nos dites barques pour aller descouvrir ladite baye". Pas un coin qui ne soit plein de blé sauvage "qui a l'espy comme seigle et le grain comme avoyne; et de poys, aussi espez comme si on les y abvoiet semés et labourés"; puis dans les rivières, "force saulmons".

Il atteint, désappointé, le fond de la baie. Le "Passaige" n'est pas encore là. "Fymes couriz à l'est" alors, dit-il, et il rebrousse chemin. Le 12 juillet il est au pays enchanteur de Percé. Il pose ses ancres pour la nuit, entre la terre ferme et l'île Bonaventure. A l'aube, il remonte vers le nord-est. Le 14, dit-il, "vymes le trevers d'icelle ripvière, nous vint "le vent, contraire, et force bruynes et nom veue, et nous convint entrer "dedans icelle ripvière, le mardi, XIIIème jour dudict moys".

Jusqu'au seize, ils espèrent que le beau temps va revenir, mais le vent devient de plus en plus tourmenté, et l'un des navires perd son ancre. Encore une fois, "il nous convynt entrer plus avant, sept ou huit lieues "amont icelle rivière, en ung bon hable et seur, que nous avyons esté "veoyr avec nos barques. Et pour le mauvais temps... fusmes en icelluy "hable et ryvière jusques au XXVe jour dudit moys, sans en pourvoyr "sortyr".

Ce havre sûr qui abrita le découvreur du Canada, ce refuge contre les puissantes tempêtes qui battent de temps à autre la péninsule, c'était Gaspé. Depuis ces temps reculés, le "hable seur" a abrité bien des navires dans la tranquillité radieuse de ses eaux. Entre ses douces montagnes renflées, il attend encore cependant le magnifique développement auquel il a droit. La nature a travaillé là avec ses mains puissantes et habiles et, à l'extrême est de notre pays, a posé ce bassin sans rival. J'en parle avec enthousiasme pour le si bien connaître, car j'ai confiance dans son avenir merveilleux et je sais qu'un jour il sera l'un des premiers du monde.

Je n'accompagnerai pas Jacques Cartier plus loin dans cette première croisière sur le golfe. Après avoir découvert la Gaspésie au charme si âpre et si prenant, il côtoya pendant quelques instants l'île d'Anticosti et retourna en France.

On connaît mieux les deux autres "navigations" de Cartier, et surtout la seconde, la plus longue, celle où il se rendit jusqu'à Montréal. L'illustre navigateur, le bon "marinier" de Dieu, s'avance sur le fleuve, dans la grande avenue bleue, entre les montagnes, à travers les îles charmantes, et il égrène sur sa route les noms de tous les saints du calendrier.

Le printemps venu, il retourne en France après avoir découvert la "grande rivière", et c'est alors qu'il publie ses œuvres où l'on trouve tant de choses: descriptions, rudiments d'une histoire des Indiens, d'une histoire canadienne, sondages, renseignements précieux pour les navigateurs, informations géographiques, etc.

Je n'insisterai pas sur ce sujet. Il me tarde d'arriver à une matière plus riche. La commémoration de ce quatrième centenaire de la découverte du Canada devra avoir tout d'abord un cachet religieux. Car Jacques Cartier ne perdit jamais de vue ce but primordial. Sur les côtes

de la Gaspésie, il rencontre à plusieurs reprises des "sauvaiges". Et il ajoute aussitôt: "Nous cogneumes que ce sont des gens qui seroient fassiles à convertir." Et plus loin, il dit encore: "Je estime mielx que aultrement, que les gens seroient fassiles à convertir à notre sainte foy."

Avec orgueil, il dit lui-même qu'il travaillait à "l'augmentation de la très sainte foy chrétienne". Il allait plantant des croix sur les rives. Et lors de son second voyage, il débute par un acte religieux. Nous "fumes nous présenter au cueur de ladicte église, devant révérend père en Dieu Monseigneur de Saint-Malo, lequel, en son état épiscopal, nous donna sa bénédiction...; chacun se confessa, et ressumes tous ensemble Notre Créateur en l'église cathédrale dudiet Saint-Malo." Ceux qui visitent la cathédrale de Saint-Malo admirent la plaque commémorative que l'ancien Premier Ministre, Honoré Mercier, fit placer au bas chœur où se déroula cette scène.

A Gaspé même, Jacques Cartier planta une croix en touchant terre. Écoutons le naïf mémorialiste relater ce fait avec son ardeur religieuse; écoutons bien celui-ci qui nous fit assister à ce geste religieux, le premier accompli sur nos bords, le premier d'une série qui devait être si longue:

"Le XXIIIIe jour dudiet moys, dit-il, nous fismes faire une croix, de trente pieds de hault qui fut faicte devant plusieurs d'eulx (les Indiens) sur la pointe de l'entrée dudiet hable sous le croisillon de laquelle mismes ung ecusson en bosse, à troys fleurs de lys, et dessus, ung escripteau en boys, engravé en grosse lettre de forme ou il y avait: VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE. Et icelle croix plantasmes sur ladicte pointe devant eulx, lesquels la regardoyent faire et planter. Et après qu'elle fut eslevé en l'air, nous mismes tous à genoulx, les mains jointes, et leur fismes signe regardant et leur monstrant le ciel, que par icelle estoit nostre rédemption, de quoy ils firent plusieurs admyradtion, en tournant et regardant icelle croix."

Actes de foi, actes d'adoration et de supplication que le découvreur de notre pays accomplit en face des Indiens, de la nature et de Dieu. Actes les plus féconds qui devaient se répéter, se multiplier à l'infini. La croix "heaulte" devait ensuite s'élever jusqu'au ciel sur ce continent, être plantée le long de nos routes, orner des clochers d'églises dans toute cette vaste terre d'Amérique. Elle devait dominer un instant tout l'immense territoire qui fut un jour le Canada français et qui relevait du diocèse unique de Québec, tout ce continent qui s'étendait des mers glaciales à la mer des Antilles.

Si la découverte de notre pays fut avant tout un acte religieux, la commémoration de ce grand fait devra être d'abord et avant tout une commémoration religieuse. Car Jacques Cartier a établi chez nous une tradition, il a tracé pour ainsi dire dans nos forêts vierges un sentier. D'autres découvreurs viendront après lui, et surtout Champlain, le fondateur de Québec. Mais ils mettront, les uns et les autres, leurs pas dans ces traces illustres. Il n'y aura pas de déviation.

C'est là un point que je voudrais souligner, c'est un sujet que je voudrais longuement traiter, mais un maître de la littérature française a déjà accompli ce travail en y mettant toute sa science et toute sa piété. Et à l'occasion de cet anniversaire, c'est lui, Monsieur George Goyau, ce sont les "Origines religieuses du Canada" qu'il faudra relire avec toute notre attention. Aucun livre ne pourra mieux marquer toute la sainteté de la fête que nous voulons célébrer, aucun n'en pourra mieux mettre en relief le caractère, n'en dégager plus nettement la signification.

Mais cette fête du quatrième centenaire, où faudra-t-il la célébrer? Là où se fit à proprement parler, la découverte du Canada, à Gaspé. Sans doute Cartier longe la côte du Labrador, l'île Saint-Jean, le Nouveau-Brunswick, mais il s'y arrête si peu. Il ravitaille ses navires et continue sa route, regardant chaque soir, comme les conquistadors, se lever les étoiles nouvelles. Ce n'est qu'en arrivant à la péninsule merveilleuse, mollement étendue dans le golfe, qu'il s'arrête, qu'il séjourne, qu'il observe longuement. Il fait vraiment à Gaspé le geste de premier occupant. Il prend possession du sol au nom du roi de France. Il passe plusieurs jours à Port-Daniel, et à Gaspé il accomplit ce grand acte de foi dont la relation est si touchante. Partout il rencontre des Indiens; partout il les accueille comme un père, comme un missionnaire, pourrait-on dire; il leur parle le langage de la foi et celui de la charité. Il a peine à les quitter et passe enfin près d'un mois sur ces côtes hospitalières et si inspiratrices.

La Gaspésie n'a-t-elle pas tout ce qu'il faut pour attirer, le moment venu, les milliers de pèlerins qui viendraient de tout le Canada, des Etats-Unis, de la France et même de l'Angleterre, pour célébrer cet anniversaire d'une importance non seulement nationale, religieuse, mais encore universelle et mondiale? Les foules n'accourent-elles pas, heureuses de cheminer le long de la baie qui attire déjà des milliers de touristes? Le beau chemin qui longe la mer, le réseau national réorganisé, les services de transport maritime toujours actifs amèneront les pèlerins heureux de suivre pas à pas la route de Jacques Cartier jusqu'au lieu du ralliement à Gaspé.

Quatre ans suffisent à peine pour préparer cette commémoration grandiose, et dont la splendeur doit égaler celle de l'événement qui en est l'occasion. Ceux qui ont formé ce projet et dont je me fais l'humble interprète, ont vu grand. A cette œuvre nationale, ils veulent la collaboration des sociétés nationales, des sociétés historiques, des universités, des écoles, des sociétés religieuses et du clergé tout entier. Les gouvernements canadiens voudront se joindre spontanément à l'entreprise. L'Angleterre, la France surtout, les Etats-Unis répondront à l'appel. 1934! Quatre ans encore et nous serons au quatrième centenaire. Quatre ans! Comme cela passe vite.

Déjà, je vois la foule se porter vers la péninsule gaspésienne. C'est le beau mois de juillet, le "tiers jour" où le "quart jour" comme écrit Jacques Cartier avec tant de saveur. Les automobiles se suivent dans la gloire de la côte ensoleillée. Les caps bleuâtres s'avancent au loin dans la mer; les montagnes douces arrondissent leur dôme. Des navires, des avions s'approchent, venant de toutes parts. Ils fendent les vagues berçantes. Les trains roulent dans la poussière d'un village coquet à l'autre. Et d'innombrables pèlerins, pèlerins du souvenir et pèlerins de la religion descendent là-bas, à Gaspé, près du "hable seur", le long du bassin, entre les collines gracieuses. Et, pieusement, ils franchissent le seuil de la cathédrale qui dresse sa croix sur la "pointe", à l'endroit précis où, il y a quatre siècles, dans la forêt primitive, Jacques Cartier plantait sa croix de bois, "haulte de trente pieds", entre ses "mariniers", les humbles "laboureux" de la mer, et les Indiens naïfs et étonnés.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

By NORMAN FEE

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association took place at McGill University, Montreal, on Friday, May 23, the sessions being held in the Royal Victoria College. The members of the Association were guests at tea at the Royal Victoria College in the afternoon, and in the evening were entertained by the Hon. N. Pérodeau at dinner at the Mount Royal Club.

At the first session on Friday morning, the address of the president, the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who was prevented from being present by pressure of his parliamentary duties, was read by Canon Chartier. Mr. Lemieux drew attention to the approaching four-hundredth anniversary of the coming of Jacques Cartier to the shores of the St. Lawrence, and pointed out that it was proposed to have a celebration of a national character, as a suitable recognition of the importance of that event.

The papers, which were presented, will appear in the association's annual report. Of special interest was that in which Professor Harvey discussed some of the characteristics of recent historical writing and the relation of Canadian historians to them. He remarked on the fact that, as yet, Canadians had contributed little to the writing of general histories or to the study of lands other than their own, and he made a plea against a narrow provincialism which would take too little account of prevailing aims and tendencies. On the other hand, he questioned whether the so-called new history was so very new after all, and suggested that writers capable of producing really valuable works of synthesis are few in number and may well be left to make their appearance as Providence directs. Meanwhile, students of Canadian history may make a very valuable contribution to the general advancement of historical knowledge by careful, intelligent, and really creative work in their own field of special interest. The paper presented by Major Lanctot on the route taken by Cartier to Hochelaga aroused an animated discussion and revealed the two well-defined opinions, one in favour of the Back River route, and the other in favour of the direct route by way of the St. Lawrence.

Sir Robert Borden becomes president of the association for this year, and His Honour Judge Howay of New Westminster, B.C., was elected to the vice-presidency. The other officers remain as before: L. J. Burpee, chairman of the management committee; Norman Fee, English secretary and treasurer; Gustave Lanctot, editor, and French secretary. The members of the council are: George Wilson, Halifax; Chester Martin, Toronto; Dr. J. C. Webster, Shediac; Canon Chartier, Montreal; W. T. Waugh, Montreal; R. Trotter, Kingston; D. C. Harvey, Vancouver; A. S. Morton, Saskatoon; A. L. Burt, Edmonton; A. G. Dorland, London; Senator Thomas Chapais, Quebec. The reports of the secretaries showed an increase in membership and a general improvement in the financial condition of the association.

During the past year the association was admitted to membership in the International Committee of Historical Sciences. It is proposed to co-operate in certain of the projects which the committee has under way, and, in this connection, there was read at the meeting of the association a

preliminary report on the teaching of history in Canadian schools, prepared by Professor W. N. Sage. It is apparent that the different provinces present most interesting variations in the methods, aims, and content of their courses in history.

At the annual meeting resolutions of thanks to McGill University and Victoria College, to Hon. N. Perodeau and to Dr. Doughty were adopted. During the year the secretary received a large number of inquiries for information and was only enabled to answer these through the co-operation of Dr. Doughty, whose assistance not only in this way, but in connection with the publishing of the annual report is essential to the welfare of the association. The association also desires to thank Dr. George Brown, managing editor of the *Canadian Historical Review*, and his assistant, and Mr. Roy, editor of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* for their assistance and co-operation during the year.

REPORT ON THE ASSEMBLY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

BY REGINALD G. TROTTER

The Canadian Historical Association was admitted to membership in the International Committee of Historical Sciences last year, and the meeting of 1929 was described in the report of the Canadian Historical Association by Dr. Mack Eastman, who attended as Canadian representative.

This year the deliberations of the committee and of its bureau and commissions were held during the week of April 28, in Cambridge, London, and Oxford. More than seventy delegates, gathered from thirty-four countries, and from every continent, were in attendance. Favoured with almost unbroken fair weather they were enabled most comfortably to enjoy the fine and generous hospitality with which, both officially and unofficially, they were made welcome, as well as to attend to the matters of business, more serious if not more important, that were on their agenda.

The Assembly was greeted at its opening session on Tuesday, in the Examination Halls at Cambridge, with an address of welcome, in Latin, from the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Mr. A. B. Ramsay, Master of Magdalen, which he supplemented a few hours later, in English, at a luncheon in the Hall of Magdalen College. Thereafter, at a congregation in the Senate House, the honorary degree of doctor of letters was conferred with traditional pomp and circumstance upon six members of the committee: Halvdan Koht, its President and Professor of History in the University of Oslo; Raphael Altamira, Professor Emeritus in the University of Madrid and Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague; Karl Brandi, Professor of History in the University of Gottingen; Gustave Glotz, Professor in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris; Henri Pirenne, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Ghent; and Gaetano de Sanctis, Professor of History in the University of Rome. A reception tendered by the University Faculty of History in the Long Gallery of Emmanuel College ended the first day, and Cambridge official hospitality was capped on the second evening by a dinner given by the Master and Fellows of Trinity College in their Elizabethan Hall, when Professor Trevelyan's apt address to the guests was responded to by Professor Dembinski of the University of Posen, President elect of the Warsaw Congress of 1933, and when the choir of the college, after singing the lengthy Latin grace commonly used at Trinity feasts, and leading in "God Save the King," later rendered with utter delight an old English madrigal and a part song.

In London, besides functions at Crosby Hall, Westfield College, and Bedford College, held expressly for the ladies accompanying delegates, there were afternoon receptions by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Royal Historical Society, a dinner at University College, and a dinner tendered by the Government at the Hyde Park Hotel over which presided the Secretary for Air, Lord Thompson, whose humorous remarks about historians and politicians were matched by the reply of Dr. Koht, president of the Committee.

The last day of the week was spent at Oxford, where the degree of D. Litt. was conferred at a special convocation in the Sheldonian Theatre

upon the two vice-presidents of the committee, Professor Bronislaw Dembinski, of the University of Posen, and Professor Alfons Dopsch of the University of Vienna, as well as upon Professor Nicolae Jorga of the University of Bucharest, after which the Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. F. Homes Dudden, Master of Pembroke, was at home in the Master's Lodging, Pembroke College, and in the evening the Rhodes Trustees gave a reception at the new Rhodes House when Professor Dopsch replied to the welcoming address of the Regius Professor of Modern History. The bountiful private hospitality extended to the visitors throughout the week must remain unrecorded.

In estimating the worth of such a conference one may venture to believe that not its least value is derived from such generous and gracious hospitality as the delegates enjoyed throughout their stay, and the opportunity and stimulus which it affords for the growth of acquaintance, understanding, and good-will among the representatives of many lands and diverse traditions and points of view. Undoubtedly, in this instance, it facilitated the formal deliberations of the conference.

The committee met in full assembly on two days, the other days being occupied by meetings of the bureau and of the several commissions. At the first plenary session Professor Koht followed his presidential address by paying formal tribute to the memory of the late Professor T. F. Tout and by acknowledging Dr. Harold Temperley's dedication to the committee of a volume of *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*.

Several applications for membership were unanimously accepted, including those from Egypt and India. The several Commissions enumerated and described by Dr. Eastman last year presented, at this session and again at the final session, reports of progress into the details of which it would be superfluous to go here, since it is proposed to publish a full formal report in the *Bulletin* of the committee. It is specially interesting to notice, however, that the work of the Commission on Bibliography has so far advanced that the first *Yearbook of Historical Bibliography* will very shortly be published. It is planned also to enlarge the scope of the *Bulletin* and seek for it a wider circulation among historians as the international journal of their profession.

A number of commissions have also been organized, some have already been at work, on subjects of such wide historical interest as the Age of Despotism, the age of Geographical Discoveries, Feudalism, the History of Science, of Modern Literature, of Historical Geography, of Historical Demography. Reports prepared by some of these are expected to become a basis for discussion at the Congress at Warsaw. The bureau received full power from the committee to proceed with arrangements for that Congress in collaboration with the Polish representatives and will also consult with the officers of the Brussels and Oslo Congresses. Much of one's hope for wide representation and substantial achievement at the Warsaw Congress arises from the interest and support of the annual committee and the continuous activity of its bureau and commissions.

The committee in itself, moreover, deserves the support of all those interested either in the cultivation of mutual understanding and good-will among peoples or in the advancement of historical scholarship. Aside from its obvious possibilities of service along bibliographical and similar lines, it is growingly able to sponsor co-operative research into those historical problems, such as the Discoveries, of which a fully satisfactory solution is unobtainable unless they are approached in collaboration by scholars having the advantages of intimate acquaintance with diverse national traditions and points of view as well as expert knowledge of their special

ranges of historical material. Increasingly, moreover, the committee's considered word will carry weight with governments, and other "breeds without the law" as the voice of the organized historical profession of the world. Already its influence is being exerted in the direction of securing more satisfactory housing and care of archives, with the increase of facilities for their use by scholars. The bureau proposes also shortly to circularise governments urging the use of durable paper and permanent ink for all records of lasting importance, a matter which demands serious attention if posterity is to possess a full picture of our generation.

In all these matters the effectiveness of the committee must depend in the long run upon the degree of support which it receives from the historians of every nation, individually and in their national organizations. The Canadian Historical Association a year ago lent its support to the extent of joining the committee. As yet there has not been very much opportunity for active Canadian co-operation in the work of the commissions. Nor, except in a few instances, is larger co-operation in this way likely to be possible in the near future, for many of the commissions are concerned with problems of a specialized sort requiring the work of specialists actively engaged in research in European history, while at present, and perhaps for some time to come, the main research interests of most Canadian historical scholars are nearer home.

In the study, however, of problems connected with the administration and use of Archives, there is no reason why Canada should not play an active and important part. The governments of many countries were officially represented on the delegations accredited to this year's meeting of the committee; indeed it is reported that the only exceptions to this practice, besides Canada, were Great Britain, the United States, and Switzerland. Canada's influence in the organization and contribution to its work would be conspicuously increased were our Government to see to it that, along with an unofficial representative, there should also be present at the committee's annual meeting a delegate of the Government from the Canadian Archives. The question seems, at any rate, worth discussing.

Such questions, however, are not the most fundamental in a consideration of the means by which the Canadian Historical Association can help this international organization. In the final issue the measure of its success must depend largely upon the breadth of intelligent support that it secures, not from a few isolated individuals, but from those generally who hold dear the cause of history. But such support largely depends upon the diffusion of adequate information, the vehicle of which is the committee's *Bulletin*. At present its circulation is limited and its cost is borne chiefly out of subventions of which the committee is for the time being the recipient. Dr. Waldo G. Leland, the treasurer, announced that the cost could not much longer be so borne; the journal must soon become self-supporting. This it can become if it receives the subscriptions of historical libraries and of those few thousand persons who are seriously interested in historical work. Only thus, moreover, will it reach those whose interest and backing are essential if the possibilities of the committee for influence and accomplishment are to be realized. If Canadians would like to see Canada take its place in this work their first step is to subscribe to the *Bulletin*, by which means they can best inform themselves and at the same time support the cause. Wider and more active participation in the program of the international organization, and weightier influence in its councils, will then follow in due time as a matter of course.

REGINALD G. TROTTER.

LONDON, May 9, 1930.

CANADIAN HISTORIANS AND PRESENT TENDENCIES IN HISTORICAL WRITING

By D. C. HARVEY

Without injustice to the valuable work that is being done by non-professional historians from Halifax to Vancouver in preserving historical records and keeping green the memory of our ancestors it is fair to say that the majority of Canadian historians are actually engaged in teaching in our schools, colleges, and universities. Upon their shoulders rests the burden of orientating Canadian history as a whole, of training future historians in historical method, and of formulating historical ideals. It is natural, therefore, that they should take stock of the historical methods and ideals of their day, and respond, however slightly, to the fashion of the hour. It is the purpose of this paper to glance at some of the present tendencies in historical writing and to enquire how far Canadian historians have been and should be affected by these tendencies.

In noting these tendencies, it is necessary to distinguish between the historian engaged in actual research; the critic of the product of historical research; the popular historian who restricts his efforts to the assembling of other men's achievements in various fields; and the writer of text-books in history for school or college. Merely to classify these is to interpret them.

The historian engaged in actual research, apart from contemporary stimuli that may direct his efforts, should not be affected by fashion in regard to standards or methods; but the critic of his researches will be very much subject to public opinion not in regard to the validity of his conclusions but in regard to their utility; while the popularizer of his work will undoubtedly keep his ear to the ground for every murmur of the reading public as that is his standard of judgment. So, too, as public opinion reacts upon educational organisation, the writers of text-books in history will be called upon to revise or rewrite their books in the light of contemporary aims and fashions. If, then, we are to discover present tendencies in historical writing, we must look chiefly to the historical critic, the writer of popular history, and the text-book writer; for all these are hammering away at the historian proper, attempting to direct his research and succeeding, at least, in making his life miserable.

It is impossible in a short paper on a long subject to do more than state a few principles in a general way while asking you to recall the conclusions of those who have written histories of history and have established the theory that there are fashions in history. All agree that each significant age in the period of recorded history has by its interests and by its demands upon historians influenced quite definitely the product; and this has led such a distinguished philosopher-historian as Benedetto Croce to assert that "every true history is contemporary history", by which he means in part that the historian's interest and curiosity in his subject, however remote, has been aroused and stimulated by something in his own life and in the life of his day that has sent him with his problem to the narratives and memorials of the past to seek the origin, tendency, and probable outcome of that problem. Thus a special set of circumstances, the discussion of vital

questions in his own day will set the historian the task of re-investigating and re-writing history in the light of and for light on those circumstances, questions, principles, characters and problems.

It follows that an authoritarian age interested in religious questions will ransack the past for authorities in support of the respective thesis of each historian; an aristocratic society will have its history written in terms of class distinctions to the edification of the lower classes and the glorification of the upper classes; an age interested in political democracy will regard history as the record of political achievement; and an age interested in nationalism will exploit its history to that end. But, while this is true of the historical critic, the popularizer, and the text-book writer, who, as we have said, are especially prone to consistency in following the mode, it is less true of the historian proper, particularly since the rationalistic movement of the eighteenth century and the scientific achievements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These movements have given the historian proper release from any pre-conception as to the destiny of mankind, have secularized his outlook and have given him both tools and method which he is free to use in the investigation of any subject that arouses his own curiosity or the curiosity of his generation. Consequently, we shall leave the trained historian for the moment, conscious of a varied and rich equipment, a full set of tools, repudiating the notion of fashion so far as he is concerned, but very much aware that his conception of knowledge as an end in itself, of truth as an attainable ideal, of history as dowered with dignity, is at present being assailed on all sides by the critic, the popular writer and the text-book writer, all of whom aspire to interpret the views of their day.

According to the most arrogant and dogmatic critics of to-day, it is both the opportunity and the duty of the historian to supplant the gods, assume the role of leadership in human affairs, and to perform the utilitarian, though divine, function of interpreting the past and foretelling the future. Since the ecclesiastical historian has been handicapped by the necessity of justifying the ways of God to man; and the economic historian has interpreted everything from the point of view of economic necessity; and the political historian has restricted his field to kings, parliaments and international relations; and the literary historian has padded his work with irrelevant anecdotes; and since the philosopher has become lost amongst the cobwebs spun by his own metaphysical introspective consciousness, and the scientist has built up a new world aloof and very different from the combined work of the theologian, philosopher and historian of the past, the time has now come, say these critics, for the new historian to integrate all knowledge, to transcend arbitrary divisions of the sciences and the arts, of peoples and of nations, of ancient, mediaeval, modern and contemporary history, to record, interpret, give meaning and purpose to the whole story of mankind from the beginning in remote time to this very hour in far-flung space.

In *The New History and the Social Sciences* Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes asserts: "But the latest, most inclusive, and most important of all types of historical interpretation, and the one which, perhaps, most perfectly represents the newer history, is the synthetic or 'collective psychological.' According to this type of historical interpretation no single category of 'causes' is sufficient to explain all phases and periods of historical development. Nothing less than the collective psychology of any period can be deemed adequate to determine the historical development of that age; and it is the task of the historian to discover, evaluate, and set forth the chief factors which create and shape the collective view of life and determine the nature of the group struggle for existence and improvement."

In his introduction to the Borzoi Historical Series Mr. Barnes makes his usual criticism of the old history as being "extremely narrow in its scope and interests" and pictures the new history as follows:—

"The new history is as wide in its interests as the entire range of human activities and achievements in the past. It deals not only with politics, dynasties and treaties but likewise with art, material culture, philosophy, education, medicine, literature, and manners and customs. Cultural achievements have replaced racy anecdotes, and institutional evolution has supplanted striking episodes." But even Mr. Barnes admits that "Thus far the new history has been limited for the most part, to the monographic, methodological, and polemic works of the leaders of the various groups interested in this movement. There has been little organized effort to rewrite the totality of human history from the standpoint of the newer interests and assumptions. Hitherto world histories have tended to be either ephemeral literary projects executed by authors possessed of stylistic capacity but with little historical knowledge, or they have been equally unreliable anthologies of the works of the contemporary historians of past ages, few of whom have had any comprehension of the standards of historical accuracy which have been worked out in the last hundred years."

In other words Mr. Barnes has responded to the appeal for a new history but admits in many words that this appeal is already fifty years old and still an aspiration. He himself proves that it is easier to find a dozen with the wit to tell how things should be done than one with the patience and tenacious industry to perform the gigantic task. But, while noting his disrespect for the majority of older historians and his exaggerated estimate of the contributions of the newer historians, we may classify him as one of the most aggressive, stimulating, and responsive of the historical critics of to-day who are laying down tasks of great magnitude for the historian.

From a list of his fellow countrymen whom he quotes with approval James Harvey Robinson may be selected as a pioneer in the field of the newer history, since he not only defines the subject but attempts to write in accordance with his definition. His view of the matter may be gathered from the following extract:—

"The 'New History' is escaping from the limitations formerly imposed upon a study of the past. It will come in time consciously to meet our daily needs; it will avail itself of all these discoveries that are being made about mankind by anthropologists, and sociologists—discoveries which during the last fifty years have served to revolutionize our ideas of the origin, progress and prospects of our race. History must not be regarded as a stationary subject which can only progress by refining its methods and accumulating, criticizing, and assimilating new material, but it is bound to alter its ideals and aims with the general progress of society and the social sciences and will ultimately play an infinitely more important role in our intellectual life than it has hitherto done."

This was the view of Mr. Robinson twenty-five years before Mr. Barnes became so dogmatic. This is still his view which he describes as the genetic or developmental view in which the function of history becomes distinctly utilitarian, the duty of the historian being to tell the world how it got that way in order that it may, having mastered the living past, direct the nascent future.

Mr. Barnes's optimism in regard to a possible historical interpretation of the universe and Mr. Robinson's desire to take the common man into his confidence are reflected in *Whither Mankind*, edited by Mr.

Charles A. Beard. It is not unnatural, if one accepts the idea that the historian can and should give meaning and purpose to life, to attempt to forecast the future. Hence Mr. Beard's attempt to provide, through co-operative effort, a panorama of modern civilization, a sort of stock-taking of the universe preparatory to laying in new supplies for the future demand. Curiously enough, although this co-operative effort has not penetrated far into the unseen, Mr. Beard retains the optimism with which he set out. "For the reasons thus adduced it may be inferred," he says, "that modern civilization founded on science and the machine will not decline after the fashion of older agricultural civilizations; that analogies drawn from ages previous to technology are inapplicable; that according to signs on every hand technology promises to extend its area and intensify its characteristics; that it will afford the substance with which all who expect to lead and teach in the future must reckon."

Thus we set out with the new historians to explain the past, reduce it to maxims for the common man to use in moulding the future; and then, as our doctors disagree on the diagnosis of the present, we find that historical analogies break down on the threshold of the future; but, with the spiritualists, we discover with certainty that "all are happy over there." We may well say not only Whither Mankind oh historian but Whither Historian oh Logic!

While Mr. Robinson and others on this side of the Atlantic have led a natural revolt against the narrow nationalism of historical interest and writing and have tried to introduce their generation to the world outside of and including America, a similar revolt has been going on in England. Let us begin with Mr. F. S. Marvin's *The Living Past* published in 1913. Like Mr. Robinson, Mr. Marvin is concerned with the common man and like Mr. Barnes he seeks a canon of historical interpretation. Like both, he seeks a remote beginning and would not terminate his narrative and interpretation until the moment at which he is writing. Like both, he holds that the present is the past alive in us. All this, together with the idea of utility, is hinted at in his preface which is in part as follows:—

"Public interest in history is clearly on the increase. There is, however, one obstacle to its effective study which is growing likewise, and has in recent years become serious and even threatening. Not only is mankind, by thought and action, constantly accumulating the material for fresh history, but our knowledge of the past is, by the exploration of the world, by the discovery of fresh documents, above all by the widening of our notion of history itself, becoming immeasurably fuller and more complex. The growing interest seems to run some risk of being smothered by the abundance of its food.

The study needs a clue. . . . "You have then one strong clear clue which, with the necessary qualifications, seems to offer in the field of history something of the guidance and system which Newtonian gravitation gave to celestial mechanics in the 17th Century. The growth of a common humanity; this is the primary object to keep in view. But it will prove vague and inconclusive, unless we add to it a content in the growth of organized knowledge, applied to social ends."

Marvin himself was not content to be the critic but attempted in *The Living Past* and *The Century of Hope* to apply his theories; and at the same time, as editor of a series of books on the unity of civilization, he sought the aid of other scholars in realizing his ideal. But it remained for Mr. H. G. Wells, the great popularizer of history in our day, to attempt single-handed to "tell truly and clearly, in one continuous narrative, the

whole story of life and mankind " and at one stroke to meet the needs of the student and the common man. His thesis is that "universal history is at once something more and something less than the aggregate of the national histories to which we are accustomed, that it must be approached in a different spirit and dealt with in a different manner," ignoring many details that are ordinarily stressed but presenting in bold relief many subjects of primary interest to mankind. Unlike Marvin he does not stress signs of unity in the past, but in his own way he is much concerned with the possibility of unity through education, arguing as he does insistently that "there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas" and that "A sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations." Here again, in both Marvin and Wells, we find contemporary insistence upon the utilitarian aspects of history and of general history in particular, the *raison d'être* being organized knowledge applied both to social ends and to international relations. Mr. Wells not only starts at the beginning and continues to the present but also devotes a chapter to the future, thus sweeping aside the notion widely held not long since that history could not concern itself with contemporary events. His influence has been very great not only on the general public but upon school and college and particularly upon High School text-books in general history throughout the English-speaking world.

But if Mr. Marvin and Mr. Wells have made the remote past a reality to school, college and general reader, it is Mr. R. H. Gretton who has become the able champion of contemporary history as the pivot upon which the historian must turn both backward and forward. In his essay on history he says "The vivifying imagination, which is necessary for all good historical work, comes at this moment, not from any temporary and external provocation of interest in national existence, nor from the direction of literary impulse, but from an influence that must in all probability be permanent—a widely spread acquaintance with events and a widely spread intelligence about social conditions." . . . "To begin with there is all the difference in the world between a pivoting of history upon one point in the past, and a weaving of it upon the warp of contemporary conditions. There is, in the latter case, no limit to what may be history, and no moral prejudicing of any issue. But, more importantly, to recognize that there is a vast field of interest in history which has been opened by concern for contemporary conditions and fertilized by the imagination provoked by the life of our own time, is not to say that contemporary history must be the centre of the historians outlook, or attention to it his main duty. It is only to plead that the last of the artificial limitations from which history has suffered should be removed."

Thus pleads Mr. Gretton for perspective in history on the basis of a present comprising the living past and throwing up problems that have their roots in the facts and experiences of humanity a knowledge of which will help us in the upward struggle.

Without specific reference to any other critics or writers and keenly conscious of the limitations of this analysis, one may summarize present tendencies in historical writing thus:—

The modern historian is being pressed from all sides to help in the solution of contemporary social, political, intellectual and international problems by the application of doses of history. Inasmuch as the Industrial Revolution has made these problems world problems, the emphasis is upon world history or general history. The pressure comes from both the

common man, who wants to be given a digest of human experience as a starting-point for his efforts at the amelioration of his lot; and from the champions of public opinion in international affairs, who claim that before the different peoples of the world can co-operate adequately to usher in an era of international peace they must be re-educated by the historian till they achieve in Mr. Well's phrase, "a sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind."

As a result of this double pressure there has been a two-fold revolt against the narrowness of history. History has been attacked as narrow in that it has placed more emphasis upon political than upon social and economic problems, and secondly in that it has restricted itself to national rather than to world history. Hence the cry for general history for the reading public and for general history as the chief educational agency in our schools and colleges. Now curiously enough Canadian historians as a whole have been strangely unaffected by the appeal to general history so far at least as their writing has been concerned. With very few exceptions they have confined themselves to Canadian history; and, even in this limited field, have dealt with sectional or local aspects of this history. The teacher who would organize a course of history other than Canadian must search in vain for books written by Canadians. This is absolutely true of general or world history and almost absolutely so even in regard to British and American history. It therefore becomes a pertinent question for the Canadian historian to ask, what, if any justification, is there for restricting his efforts to local history, what is the place of local history in general history, what service can the local historian perform for his community and the world in general?

In order to approach the problem with some degree of discernment, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the present insistence upon world history is an aspiration only; and that, in so far as it is a practicable proposal, it depends upon the adequacy of the work that has been done by a vast army of historians battling in the restricted areas of national and local history. In other words the basis for the new experiment is the assumption that historical method has been perfected during the past 50 years, when science has been in the ascendant, and the archives of different peoples have been collected, made more accessible to historians, examined, edited, published, interpreted, and integrated within national areas; and that the time has now come for an integration of national histories into some sort of an international or world history. The form of this new history is still matter of experiment and controversy; but, whatever the ultimate outcome, the past is being ransacked again in the hope of arriving at the formulation of world-tendencies as distinct from national or local tendencies.

But, while this is true and the labour will engage the attention of many historians in many lands for many years to come, and while it is hoped that some Canadian historians will make a worthy contribution to this work, three things must be noted. Firstly, such a task requires special gifts and therefore will attract the legitimate efforts of only a small percentage of historians at any time; secondly, these general historians must base their generalizations upon the material already assembled by the whole group of specialist historians, which means that these specialists must continue to supply the original research; and lastly, the general historian must deal primarily with the past, leaving to others the continuing stream of history that flows on in greater volume than ever. Hence it follows that merely as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the

master historians of the world there is adequate justification for the local historian.

But there are other and more important reasons why the local historian must continue to perform his functions, reasons which assume a new dignity because of the present aspiration to trace the growth of a common humanity and to discover the underlying and impelling world-spirit. These reasons lie in the nature of man and the interplay of his ideal strivings and his local environment.

If a nation is the workshop of the world, the community is the workshop of the nation as the family is of the community. Thus we must have the history of our nations, our communities and our families. In all our families continuity depends upon certain members who catch the tradition and continue it, serve their community and nation, and thus contribute to world history, so that we must have our biographies as types of our contribution to the efforts of mankind. Each community has its local problems, fundamental to organized life and co-operative activity, which problems are but a microcosm of the problems of mankind. Each nation but concentrates the efforts of its many communities and tries to deal with major problems common to all; and any international organization can only strive to reconcile conflicting interests and to effect the same compromise between national rivalries and emulations that the family effects between individual members, the community between families, and the nation between communities. Thus, the biography of an individual in mirroring his struggle for food, clothing, shelter, for harmony with his environment, for an interpretation of his being intellectually, spiritually, aesthetically, is analogous to the story of a community, a nation, the world.

If a stone is cast into a pool the energy thus communicated finds expression in a series of widening circles each shallower and less intensive than the preceding one. Thus it is with social organization. The place where our energies are concentrated is the community in which we live, move and have our being; the locality, the local life. Our sphere of activity is here. The traditions which influence us are here: some of them have grown up here, others have been blown in from other communities equally engaged in a similar struggle, and, perhaps with a greater body of tradition and experience. It is true that ideas know no bounds; but it is also true that the uses we make of ideas from without are conditioned by our own nature and needs. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth. So it is with ideas. But the wind itself affects each locality intimately and closely. Its effects can and must be recorded.

One of the tempting snares of world history is inherent in the dictum, happy is a country that has no history. By taking in this sense the world-view we might say happy is mankind when it has no history. The meaning is clear. History in that sense is a record of conflict, catastrophe, war and rumours of war rather than the less dramatic account of a peaceful and workman-like solution of day by day problems. Nations rise and fall, civilizations wax and wane, but families and communities go on forever just as if these larger organizations were comparatively incidental. Thus it may be that the true interpretation of man's purpose and destiny may be found by studying the individual and the community rather than in the hasty and inadequate generalizations of world-historians. One can see clearly why a family is wiped out or a community driven to insolvency; but we have yet to learn why the glory that was Greece is not still Greece and why the grandeur that was Rome no longer exists. That which attracts and repels immigrants, physical features, natural resources, and

climate, meteorological observations, the fall of rain, the vagaries of snow, statistical accounts of gold, lumber, wheat, the use we make of our energies and our resources, our habits of work and play, our laws and government are as important in teaching mankind as the international rivalries, political intrigue, and vanities of statesmen can ever be.

But much depends upon the spirit in which local history is written; and here we hit upon a paradox: local history cannot be written in a local spirit; the true local historian is he who has an interest in world history. A genealogist, a maiden aunt, is often perfectly reliable as to the vital statistics of her family and immediate community, a census taker may record the exact number of hens and sheep on a farm, a party heeler may know to a nicety the number of voters in the community; and yet none of these could write a biography, an essay on population, or the significance of democratic self-government. Even an annalist may compile year by year all the materials of a local history and yet may not be able to use them as history. All these types of compilers have their uses, are indispensable to the historian; but the historian must see meaning in these collections of dissimilar facts, and must be able to interpret them to his own locality and relate them to similar or allied activities in other localities. That is to say that the local historian has the benefit of an intensive study of a limited field, of accurate knowledge of a limited set of conditions and group of people and therefore is in a position to see causes and results in a way that is not open to the general historian; but he must have the general historian's equipment for generalization, an eye for larger relationships, if he is going to see all that is in local history and thereby make its work and his significant.

It would be possible to illustrate this at length if I had time but I must conclude by an attempt to explain why I inflicted this paper upon you. I have been reading a good deal of historical literature recently in an effort to discover what ideals historians have set for themselves at present, and I was struck by the fact that all this progressive discontent is voiced by others than Canadians. I thought of my colleagues in Canadian universities who, themselves Canadians though trained in European and American universities, were restricting their efforts to the Imperial, Canadian, or provincial fields. I wondered whether this was from choice, habit or necessity, whether we were all contented with this outlook, whether we were all convinced that this was the duty of our generation or that it was also our duty to give a wider ambition to our students. In other words I hoped that this paper would evoke some discussion.

To this end I shall formulate some hypotheses and leave them with you.

In the first place Canadian historians have not made any proportionate contribution to the field of general history. In the second place they have not written an adequate national history, every attempt that has yet been made being limited by sectional outlook or an intimate knowledge of parts of Canada only. In the third place Canadian historians have only vaguely recognized that they are in a position to interpret the Old Colonial system more accurately than a writer in London or Paris. In the fourth place no adequate Canadian history can be written until fuller and more intimate provincial histories have been written by competent historians of general training who can see general principles emerging from the local detail. Lastly, no adequate Canadian history can be written that does not place Canada in its proper perspective in general history, firstly as a pawn in the game of European imperialism and secondly as seeking its own national character and lastly as emerging into world-politics.

SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD

By WILLIAM SMITH

The subject of this paper presents one of the unsolved enigmas of Canadian history, and viewed in the light of the critical conditions prevailing at the time, and of the unusual character of the events which occurred during the period of his governorship, an enigma of enduring interest. The first battle in the campaign for responsible government was fought against him, and its partisans suffered a severe defeat at his hands. An insurrection set on foot by some of the partisan chiefs whom he had baffled, was put down by the provincials, without the aid of a British soldier.

The questions are provoked, who was this man? What led the Colonial Secretary to choose him for this important position? The first question is answered in the Dictionary of National Biography. The answer to the second, however, is rendered more difficult, if that be possible, by what is learned respecting his earlier career.

Francis Bond Head was the descendant of a Portuguese physician, who attended Catherine of Braganza, when she came to England as the wife of Charles II in 1662. He was born in Kent in 1793; joined the Royal Engineers and was present at Waterloo; retired in 1825, to enter upon an episode, which was the only occasion until that time in which he appeared in any sense before the public. A mining company formed in London to carry on explorations and development in Argentina and Chile, appointed Head as manager of the expedition. After extensive travel on both sides of the Andes he returned to London with nothing to show but an outlay of £60,000. His experiences were set down in a lively book entitled "Journeys in the Pampas and Andes". In 1834, he obtained the useful but undistinguished position of Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in the county of Kent, the duties of which he performed with great heart.

But what was there in this career to persuade Lord Glenelg, who had never seen Head, to believe that he had found the man, who could allay the discontents, which kept the Colonial Office in a state of constant uneasiness? It has been suggested that a mistake was made and that the man the Colonial Secretary intended to appoint was Edmund (afterwards Sir Edmund) Head, who was afterwards successively lieutenant governor of New Brunswick, and governor general of Canada. But this is extremely improbable. Edmund Head was only thirty years of age at the time of the appointment and has no distinction whatever except as a classical scholar. Moreover, he was travelling in Germany with Cornewall Lewis in 1835.

Francis Bond Head, if anybody, could have told us of the circumstances of his appointment in November, 1835, but they were as much a puzzle to him as to any body. All he knew he tells in his Narrative. After a busy day with the board of guardians at New Romney, he had gone home and retired early. About midnight an alarmed servant woke him up with the news that a King's officer had come for him. The messenger brought a letter containing the surprising announcement that the Colonial Secretary wished him to accept the government of Upper Canada, and requested him to call at the Colonial Office at half past eight next morning, as Lord Glenelg wanted to have the appointment confirmed that day. As he was

totally unconnected with any member of the Government and had never seen Lord Glenelg in his life, he was altogether at a loss to conceive why the appointment should have been offered to him. The position was totally uncongenial to his habits, disposition and opinions, and when he waited on Glenelg, he respectfully declined the appointment. Under Glenelg's pressure, however, he finally yielded, and a few days later embarked at Liverpool for New York, on his way to Toronto.

That Joseph Hume, the Radical member for Middlesex and the author of the "baneful domination" letter to Mackenzie of the year before, had a hand in Head's appointment seems clear from the fact that on the same day that Glenelg issued this notification to Head of his appointment, Hume apprised Mackenzie of the fact. Hume does not seem to have been personally acquainted with Head, as the latter refused an interview with him, and denounced him vigorously in the course of correspondence with the Colonial Secretary. Hume informed Mackenzie that Head was an author, that he was employed as a poor-law commissioner and that his conduct and principles were much approved of.

Hume was soon to find that whoever else approved of Head's principles he did not. What Glenelg's ideas about Head were, we have no means of knowing, but there is little doubt that he was soon to experience a surprise. Head declares that he gave little thought to political questions and was not an adherent of any party. His introduction to Upper Canadian politics was not alluring. Before his departure, he had been given the several-hundred page report of the Assembly on the provincial grievances, and Lord Glenelg's letter of instructions. When he perused these documents, he had grasped firmly one or two ideas, which were his guiding stars throughout his administration. The first was that the governor of a colony such as Upper Canada must be master. The next was that the least effective way of gaining the goodwill and confidence of the people was to attempt to conciliate the discontented. His first few weeks in Toronto completed his stock of general ideas. The inhabitants of Upper Canada were, he decided, divided politically into two great classes—monarchists and republicans. A monarchist was a man, who held Head's (not Glenelg's) ideas regarding the methods by which the colony should be governed. All others were republicans. There was no intermediate class. In Upper Canada, owing to a steady leakage in of American ideas, republicanism was as pervasive as original sin. Any tampering with the ritual of monarchy was dangerous. He learned this, he says, from the smile of pity and contempt with which a man regarded his proposal to receive a deputation from the Assembly with uncovered head. *Facilis descensus Averno* was in Upper Canada a lamentable truth. But the danger was not confined to the province nor to Canada. Lord John Russell, Head notes, introduced two rank republican measures into the House of Commons—the union of the provinces and responsible government. This last phrase—responsible government—which was in his mind synonymous with democracy unsettled him whenever it crossed his path. He had a host of injurious epithets for it—tyrannous, pernicious, detestable, the perfidious enemy, to mention only a few.

A monomaniac if you will, but with an insight into his fellow men, which was not far from genius. A very few months residence in the province gave him a more accurate measure of the common people, than had the politicians, Tory or Reform, who had lived among them all their lives. He loved their company. Six days of the week from ten in the morning until three or four in the afternoon, he kept open house for all who chose to call upon him, and during the summer months, he travelled over the pro-

vince, accompanied from township to township, by a group of farmers who met him on horseback at their borders, and did not leave him until he was taken over by the men of the next township. He travelled by canoe over the Trent water system, and ran the Chaudiere lumber slides on a timber crib. Nothing escaped his eager eyes. Most valuable to him, he declares, was the amount of moral and political information he was able to collect from the numerous persons who rode along with him, and whom he found as ready to instruct him as he was to listen. It served, at least, to assure him of the accuracy of his original estimate of the people's quality.

He came to Canada in the spirit of a knight, whose high task it was to hold the bulwarks of the constitution inviolate. That there was a combat to be waged, he had no doubt. The sweet reasonableness of Glenelg's instructions was to him simply cloying. He held in contempt the injunctions to rely upon conciliation for success.

He had been in Toronto scarcely a month when he was engaged in repelling a major assault. His opponent was a man as single-minded as himself, and armed like himself with the keenest dialectal weapons. It became necessary to fill up the Executive Council, three seats in which were vacant. Head did not wish to place himself in the hands of the extremists of either party, and sought out men of moderate views. As Robert Baldwin's name commanded respect everywhere, Head sent for him and offered him a seat in the Council. Baldwin, who had a distaste for public life, was reluctant to consider the proposal. But several conversations with Head and consultations with his friends so far changed his attitude, that he was induced to state the terms on which he might become a member of the Council. He would form part of no Council, which did not enjoy the confidence of the Assembly, and to meet this condition, it would be necessary to dismiss the three existing councillors. Head rejected both the theory and its application. The only satisfactory system of government in his view was one in which its three branches, the governor, the legislative council and the house of assembly should be independent of one another (as has always been the case in the United States). Furthermore, he could not in decency dismiss advisers who had served his predecessors faithfully, and with whom he had no occasion to find fault.

Negotiations were interrupted, and Head made efforts to gain the adhesion of other moderate men. The several Reformers approached by Head—Dr. W. W. Baldwin, Robert's father, John Rolph, and M. S. Bidwell—all insisted on Robert Baldwin's conditions, but they saw the possibility of converting Head to belief in the theory of responsible government, and it was finally settled that Robert Baldwin, Rolph, and the Provincial Treasurer, John Henry Dunn, should offer to enter the Council without insisting on their conditions.

The offer was accepted by Head, and when the council was fully organized, it contained the three Reformers mentioned and three Tories—Peter Robinson, George H. Markland, and Joseph Wells. Baldwin had many misgivings as to the chances of the experiment, and his fears were fully justified by the event. The Reform theory was discussed several times in the Council, the Lieutenant-Governor being present. Head held his ground but Baldwin had the satisfaction of making converts of his three Tory colleagues, and three weeks after the Council had been constituted, the whole body presented a paper to Head, setting forth their views, and offering their resignations if he were not disposed to act in accordance with those views.

The radical defect in the existing system of government was, they declared, that the Executive Council had never been permitted to discharge

the duties laid upon them by the Constitutional Act (of 1791). Several of the sections of the act implied, as the Council endeavoured to show, that the purpose for which they were appointed was to advise the Governor on all matters arising in the administration of the affairs of the province.

The Assembly and the public, who shared this view and supposed that it was in constant practice, had on occasions cast opprobrium on the Council for measures which met with the public disapprobation; and the Council were unable to relieve themselves from the odium attaching to them, on account of their oath of secrecy.

The Governor, the councillors pointed out, stood towards the Executive Council precisely as he stood towards the two houses of the Legislature. Every session they presented to him for his assent bills which they had passed and it lay within his discretion as to whether he gave or withheld that assent. It would be exactly the same with the Executive Council. If all matters of an administrative or executive character were submitted to them for their advice, the Governor was free to accept or reject that advice as he saw fit.

The Council said nothing directly on the question of the responsibility of the Executive Council to the Assembly. The Lieutenant-Governor, on the contrary, addressed himself solely to that question. He had no difficulty in showing, that whatever the grounds might be on which the Council rested their argument, the Constitutional Act did not furnish an adequate support for it. There was nothing in the act bearing immediately on the point. But in three of the sections the phrase occurred "together with such Executive Council as shall be appointed for the affairs of such province," and the Council contended that this implied that they were appointed for *all* the affairs of the province.

Head, however, disposed of this inferential contention by quoting from the Royal Instructions which accompanied the Constitutional Act. The eighth of these Instructions directed the Governor "to communicate to them (the Executive Council) such and so many of these Our Instructions, wherein their advice is mentioned to be requisite; and *likewise all such others from time to time as you shall find convenient for Our Service to be imparted to them.*" The implication that the Council were to be consulted only as the Governor saw fit seemed plain to Head.

The theory of the responsibility of the Executive Council for acts of administration was vigorously attacked. The constitution of a colony, he affirmed, resembles, but is not identical with, the constitution of the Mother Country. There the maxim that the King could do no wrong made it indispensable that there should be some person or body, who should be accountable for acts of administration. Hence the necessity for a cabinet or Executive Council. The Governor occupied no such position of irresponsibility as that of the King. He was subject to impeachment or removal for neglect of the interests entrusted to his care. The Governor is therefore the responsible minister in a colony.

Coming as a stranger without local interests to serve, a governor had what Head regarded as the supreme merit—impartiality. His lack of knowledge, however, of the conditions in a colony suggested the necessity of an Executive Council, composed of persons who were intimate with those conditions, and upon whom he could call for the information he required. In order that there may be perfect confidence within the Council, the members are sworn to secrecy, and Head declared that he could not impart even to the King the name of the councillor, who had given him the information upon which he acted.

The foregoing considerations, the Lieutenant-Governor continued, indicated the relations which should subsist between a governor and his council. All acts of administration were his responsibility. If a mistake or wrongful act were committed for which some person was liable to be called to account by the sovereign whom he represented, the governor alone was answerable. He could not throw off his responsibility by pointing to this or that councillor, as the person who had misled him. As the responsibility for all administrative measures rested on him, and was indivisible, it was only proper that in all these matters, he should act in accordance with the dictates of his best judgment.

The paper was composed with so much ability and fullness of knowledge as to suggest to many readers the work of another hand than Head's, and speculation pointed to Chief Justice Robinson. It may have been so, though there is nothing beyond the proverbially unreliable internal evidence to support this conclusion. Head was a very able controversialist, and was at his best in a task of this kind.

The paper closed with an expression of unabated respect for the talents and integrity, as well as of his personal regard for the retiring councillors.

Head followed up his action by the appointment of a new council, composed of Robert Baldwin Sullivan, a cousin of Robert Baldwin, John Elmsley, Augustus Baldwin, and William Allan.

Robert Baldwin asked the permission of Head to make a statement for the Assembly of the facts relating to the appointment and resignation of the late council. This was at once granted, with an expression of confidence that the facts would be set forth fairly.

Baldwin's statement to the Assembly amply met the Governor's expectations, and, with it before them, the Assembly on March 24, addressed the Lieutenant-Governor, expressing their wants of confidence in his new councillors, and requesting that immediate steps be taken for their removal.

Head, in his reply, lamented, as much as the Assembly could, the resignation of the late council, but declined any responsibility for the excited state of public feeling. His own conviction was that the Lieutenant-Governor formed one branch of the legislature, and he claimed for himself freedom of thought as firmly as he wished that the other two branches should retain the same privilege. He was however open to conviction and would be happy to abandon his opinion, if the duty he owed to the King and the people could permit it.

The way seemed open for a reasoned presentation of the case for responsible government. In spite of Head's profession of a willingness to be convinced, it is more than doubtful, however, whether he would have been moved from his position.

But the Assembly did not use the methods of persuasion. Their report was a declaration of war upon Head; and all the immemorial devices of war were employed in making their case against him. They attacked his positions squarely when that could be done with success, and where he was strong, they sapped his strength by misrepresentations of his plain meaning. Head, himself, was viciously attacked. His appointment of the late councillors was "a deceitful manoeuvre," his statement of their propositions was "(to use the mildest terms) a very erroneous account"; his requiring them to resign was an indulgence to "his arbitrary spirit." After their resignation he had "literally traduced" the councillors. A statement he

made to the House "must of course destroy all confidence in future in His Excellency's assertions."

The charge that the Lieutenant-Governor had uttered a falsehood in a message to the Assembly requires a word of explanation. The Assembly had a short time before asked the Lieutenant-Governor to furnish them with copies of any bond or agreement between him and any member of the Executive Council, or between any of the members, by which it was stipulated in what manner or by whom the Government should be administered, in the event of His Excellency's death or removal. Head replied that there was no such document in existence.

The facts are these: in the event of the death or removal of the Lieutenant-Governor, the office of administrator devolved upon the senior Executive Councillor. R. B. Sullivan, the senior councillor, did not desire the office, and determined, should a vacancy in the Lieutenant-Governorship occur, to resign from his position as a member of the Council. He would thus be quit of the senior or any other place in the Council, and the contingent position of administrator would fall to the succeeding senior councillor. In order to leave no doubt as to his intention he resolved, to have it put in writing, and, for some reason which he does not explain, he asked that the note be drawn up by some other member. Head himself offered to do it, and did it. Sullivan declared before a committee of the House that the document was drawn up for his own satisfaction that it might not be said that he had it in view to fill the situation of administrator.

It all seems as simple and as unimportant as it did to Head, who said to Sullivan that it made no difference to him what they did after he was dead. In order that no significance might be given to it through keeping it secret, he ordered the note to be read in the Legislative Council. But the Assembly saw it in quite another light. "An arrangement" they declared "so inconsistent with the rights and honour of the Crown, and with the safety and protection of the people, was probably never before thought of in a British Colony. In some of the old colonies the people chose their own governors; but never was a successor to a governor, then living, chosen by the Council." Head's denial that such an arrangement existed, they declared, destroyed all confidence in his assertions.

Head's refusal to dismiss his council left the House, they averred, no alternative but to abandon their privileges and honour, and to betray their duties and the rights of the people, or to withhold the supplies. They resolved upon the latter course.

The abuse of Head and the refusal of the supplies were tactical mistakes. With the gloves off, Head was in his element, and was more than a match for the members of the Assembly. The issue would be decided shortly by the electors, and as to the outcome he had no doubt. He was convinced that he had the province with him. When he concluded his speech proroguing the legislature on April 20, 1836, the House rang with cheers, and a crowd were ready to draw his carriage to government house. This was in Toronto, the headquarters of the Reform party at the time. He reported to Lord Glenelg a few days after the closing of the legislature that "the game is won; the battle is gained so far as it relates to this country; and I cannot give Your Lordship a more practical proof of it than by saying, I want no assistance, except the negative advantage of not being undermined at home." Head had an abiding fear of being "let down" by the Home Government. He mistrusted their policies, and felt himself in constant danger of being repudiated by his superiors.

To the Under Secretary of State, Stephen, he imparted his faith, in a more familiar and characteristic utterance. "Do you happen to know why a little weasel always kills a rat? I do not think you do, and therefore I will explain it. The rat is the strongest animal of the two, and his teeth are the longest, but he bites his enemy anywhere, whereas the weasel always waits for an opportunity to fix his teeth in the rat's jugular vein, and when he had done so he never changes his plan or lets go until the rat is dead. Now I have been following the weasel's plan, for when I came out here, Bidwell and the republican party were much too strong for me, and were haughty and arrogant in their success. They did many things to offend me, but I took no notice till their party got on the rotten argument about the Executive Council and then I pounced upon them and have never for a moment deserted the point."

He opened his campaign by showing the Assembly that they had started a game at which two could play, and in which the consequences of both games would fall on them. They had refused the supplies by which the Civil Government and Administration of Justice were maintained. He retorted by holding up the bills for roads and general improvements in the province, on the ground that the maintenance of the government was a necessary first charge on the provincial revenues. His refusal to sanction these bills cut in two directions. The improvements which were badly needed would be postponed, and a potent instrument for influencing the elections was taken out of the hands of the Radicals. In most of these bills, commissioners were named by the Assembly who would spend the money voted, and no person need be told how usefully such sums could be laid out in an election by appointees of the Assembly. All the newspapers in the province except the extreme Radical denounced the Assembly for its wanton course. One of them asserted that during the month following the refusal of the supplies, nearly 1,000 mechanics left Toronto for Rochester, Buffalo, New York and other places in the United States. The banks had practically ceased discounting mercantile paper. Another published at Cobourg reported that about forty labourers and mechanics, mostly old countrymen, had left that district for the United States.

There thus existed all the material for a "panic" campaign, and Head was well fitted to turn it to utmost account. His reply to a largely-signed address from the citizens of Toronto is a good sample of his quality. The address after commending the course he had pursued towards the Assembly, and urging him to continue it with unabated firmness, went on to point out that the business of the city was already suffering, that mechanics who had before found ample employment were leaving by hundreds, and every man in the town was feeling the stagnation, which the want of the supplies had caused.

Head seized upon this statement and implied it. "The clerks and messengers in the government offices," he said, "who during a long session have laboured unremittingly for the public service are now surrounded by their families, perhaps penniless. Money, which would not only have improved your roads, but would have given profit and employment to thousands of deserving people is now stagnant; the sufferers in the late wars have lost the remuneration which was absolutely almost in their hands; emigration has been arrested; and instead of the English yeoman arriving with his capital in this free British country, its mechanics in groups are seen escaping from it in every direction, as if it were a land of pestilence and famine." Replying to another address, he devoted himself to a communication from the Assembly of Lower Canada to the Assembly

of Upper Canada. This letter which was read in the latter chamber, was a harsh arraignment of the whole system of British colonial government, and indicated the government of the United States as furnishing the model which the Canadas should strive to imitate. Head felt it necessary to repudiate that assertion by declaring what state of opinion in Upper Canada really was.

"The people of Upper Canada" he declared "hate Democracy; they revere the Constitutional Charter, and are consequently staunch in allegiance to their king.

"They are perfectly aware that there exist in the Lower Province one or two individuals who inculcate the idea that this province is about to be disturbed by the interference of foreigners, whose power and whose numbers will prove invincible.

"In the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate—Let them come if they dare!"

It occurred even to Head that some of the expressions employed were rather unusual—as he observed to Glenelg "not exactly according to Hoyle; mais, Monseigneur, croyez-vous donc qu'on fasse des révolutions avec l'eau de rose?"

It was in this spirit that he answered addresses from every part of the province.

The legislature was dissolved on May 28, and the new assembly was called to meet on July 16. Head ceased his activities among the electors during the campaign. But his work had been done well, and the result fully justified his confidence. A majority of Reformers in the old house of seven was converted into a minority of twenty-five. The three leaders, Mackenzie, Bidwell and Perry, were all defeated.

Thereafter Head had a complaisant legislature. It was charged that his victory had been won by corruption and the exercise of undue influence. The voluminous evidence adduced by a committee of the Assembly does not sustain the charge. It is true that the committee was under the control of members of the Government party, but the Reformers had full liberty as witnesses. The most serious of the charges, that of creating a large number of voters by a profuse issue of land patents was disproved by the official records of the land granting department.

The truth is that Head did not require to resort to corruption of any sort to assure himself of victory. His appeals met a sympathetic hearing. The province was receiving a large immigration from Great Britain—the population more than doubled between 1825 and 1835—and the greatest part of the new settlers would eagerly respond to the cry that the Imperial connection was in danger. The leaders of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist churches were men of great influence, and all zealous for the maintenance of the government.

If Head had had the common sense and prudence to use wisely the power he had acquired, he might have earned the title of one of Upper Canada's most successful governors. But the men who can do both are rare. The elections were scarcely over when Head took a step that brought him into conflict with the Colonial Secretary.

It is necessary to give some account of Head's relations with the Colonial Secretary. Lord Glenelg, mindful perhaps of his difficulties in getting information from Sir John Colborne, made a point of inviting from Head the fullest and frankest communication on all matters connected with his government. Head responded with a freedom, which frequently passed into licence. He was persuaded that he, and he alone, possessed the secret

of successful government in the colonies. The Colonial Office knew it not, and Lower Canada was hurrying towards rebellion for want of its application in that province. It had been an entire success in Upper Canada, and he was prepared to undertake the placation of Lower Canada. The secret was a simple one. "No conciliation!" A firm just governor, with an ear open to complaints, and a hand ready to remedy them would cure all disorders. To consider public opinion was weakness. Given a doctrine of that sort and an excitable head, the result may be imagined. His was a voice in a wilderness filled with woeful error, and it was correspondingly shrill. Lord Glenelg's patience was enduring.

The despatches during this period might not unfittingly be labelled "Guide Book for Colonial Government" by Sir Francis Bond Head. He did not confine his attention to his own government. The disorders in Lower Canada furnished the theme for many instructive observations. Shortly before his appointment, a commission had been sent out to enquire into the reasons for the discontents in Lower Canada, and their report was sent to Head. The latter communicated to the Colonial Secretary his entire dissent from the terms of the instructions to the commissioners, and from their recommendations for the removal of the grievances. They laid it down as axiomatic that the weightiest accountability that could attach to an Executive Council was their accountability to public opinion. Head scoffed at the statement. He held, on the contrary, that it was the duty of every man in office to make public opinion follow him, and never to attempt to follow it. He adduced his recent success with his council, as a text for a dissertation on the respective relations of governor and council towards one another. The dissimilarity between his views and those of the Colonial Office appeared to him so serious that he offered his resignation, and advised that Lord Glenelg should accept it.

The despatch is a fair sample of the didactic style that marked all Head's communications with the Colonial Office. They were sometimes suffused by a high degree of emotion. He fairly exploded when he received a copy of an instruction to the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. A disagreement between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Assembly of that province had led to a delegation being sent by the latter to lay their views before the Colonial Secretary. The result was a direction to the Lieutenant-Governor to enlarge his council, taking care that the new members should be persons "possessing the confidence of the people". This was too much for Head. "The British constitution" he said "has nothing to fear from its low-bred antagonist Democracy, if His Majesty's government will not avert from us its support.

.....Nought shall make us rue,
If England to herself do rest but true".

But what chance had lieutenant-governors if they were condemned to content with

- (1) Public opinion, or, in other words, the opinion of "the people".
- (2) The House of Assembly, or the representatives of "the people".
- (3) An Executive Council required to possess the confidence of "the people".
- (4) Agents in England, enjoying the ear and confidence of His Majesty's Government, as being the representatives of the representatives of "the people".

An illustration of the necessity that lieutenant-governors should not be hampered by considerations of popularity lay right at his hand. The

prime need of the province was a large influx of immigrants, and it was essential that conditions should be made as favourable for them as possible. A grave obstacle encountered by those desiring to facilitate the settlement of newcomers, was the rapacity of the already-settled residents. When the immigrant made his application for a lot of land, he was apt to find that it had passed out of the hands of the Government, and that he had to deal as he could with a speculator, who made him pay a price that he could ill afford. Public opinion was all on the side of the residents, and unless the Lieutenant-Governor possessed the power to check this abuse, the interests of the Empire would suffer.

It was when he was thrown on his defence that the characteristic Head appeared at his best and at his worst. Immediately after the election of 1836, he dismissed two or three officers of government, the most notable for the purpose of the narrative being George Ridout, who was removed from the positions of Judge of the Niagara District Court, Colonel of the East York Militia, and Justice of the Peace. The reason assigned to Ridout was that he had taken part in a meeting of the Constitutional Reform Society, from which a circular letter was issued containing insulting references to Head. In informing the Colonial Secretary of Ridout's dismissal, he mentioned the reason given, but added other charges, the most serious of which was that Ridout had been heard to say that Head deserved to be tarred and feathered and that he (Ridout) would help in the job.

Ridout furnished evidence that would satisfy any reasonable man that he was guiltless of any connection with the circular, which was given as the ground of his offending, and on Head's refusal to accept it, he laid the case before Lord Glenelg. He gained the sympathy of the Colonial Secretary, who wrote to Head stating that the evidence submitted by Ridout was satisfactory to him and instructing either to give Ridout the chance of refuting the other charges, or to restore him to the positions from which he had been removed.

Head replied by a lengthy plea against the decision communicated to him. But when Glenelg refused to be moved from the position he had taken, and insisted on his instructions being obeyed, Head became defiant. During the course of the correspondence, Head received another instruction, which was repugnant to him, and which he determined to disobey. A vacancy was about to occur in the Court of King's Bench of Upper Canada, and Glenelg who had been impressed by Head's references to Marshall Spring Bidwell saw in the latter the qualifications for a capable judge, and intimated to Head a desire that when the vacancy arose, Bidwell might be given the appointment. Glenelg was aware that Bidwell was a leading Reformer, but saw in that fact no reason why he should be held disqualified for a position, outside the range of party politics. But Head had conceived a bitter enmity towards Bidwell, and misrepresented him shamefully to Glenelg.

His defence of the resolutions he had taken took the form of an attack on the Colonial Office and its policies. There was in that office, he declared, an invisible overruling influence favouring the introduction of republican principles, under which governor after governor had succumbed. Governors were always applauded at Home whenever they conceded anything to the Assemblies, but whenever they felt it to be their duty to stand firm in resisting the demands made upon them "they immediately find themselves unaccountably afflicted with a sweating sickness which is the sure precursor of their removal." He had followed faithfully what he believed to be the real policy of the Colonial Secretary—the maintenance of the Queen's authority

in the Canadas, but his methods were diametrically opposite to those prescribed by Lord Glenelg. Lord Gosford as Governor General was enjoined as the key note of his instructions that "conciliation and the reconciliation of all past grievances are presented as the great object of your mission." His own conviction as Lord Glenelg had been informed shortly after Head entered upon his duties was that "cool, stern, decisive, unconciliatory measures form the most popular system of government that can be exercised" in the Canadas. The results spoke for themselves.

This correspondence which began not long after the election of 1836 was not concluded until the last week in November, 1837, with the acceptance by the Colonial Secretary of Head's resignation, which was offered in the foregoing dispatch.

In the early summer of 1837, Upper Canada was in the toils of conditions, which caused much suffering and embarrassment, and in the handling of which Head lost all his popularity. The trouble began in the United States. As the result of excessive land speculation coupled with Presidential intervention, a large portion of the gold and silver coin in the country had been transferred to small banks in the western and southwestern states, where it remained locked up. The reserves in the eastern banks were depleted below the danger point. Their struggle to retain, and, if possible, to increase their reserves compelled them to suspend payments in specie, and, not only to refuse accommodation to their customers, but to require the repayment of outstanding debts. The demands of the banks were passed on from the wholesale dealers to their retail customers, and by them to the community as a whole. The entire country was in distress. Opulent merchants unable to turn their wares into cash, were obliged to close their doors. Large numbers of bankruptcies were reported daily and panic and depression prevailed for some months.

Canada's intimate commercial relations with the United States soon brought this country within the troubled area.

The banks of Lower Canada took shelter, as those of the United States had done, by suspending specie payments. The merchants throughout Upper Canada desired that the banks in the province should do the same thing. They pointed out that the demand for gold from Lower Canada and the United States had raised its price to a high premium, and that every person having bank bills was interested in converting them into gold, and that the coffers of the banks would soon be empty, unless they were replenished by means which was bringing disaster to all classes in the United States.

But the key to the situation lay with Head and not with the bank directors. One of the terms of their charters stipulated that the suspension of specie payments would automatically void the charter. Head would not listen to the appeals of the merchants or have regard to the evidences about him of the distress of the community. He had but one answer. Honour demanded that the banks should pay gold on any demand that might legally be made, so long as there was a shilling remaining in their coffers. The general discontent reached a high pitch. The newspapers which had given him their full support during the election of the preceding year, now denounced his stupid obstinacy. He made a feint of yielding by summoning the legislature, and inviting their assistance in dealing with the situation. When they showed a disposition to leave the banks free to suspend specie payments under adequate safeguards, he exerted his influence among them and induced them to pass an act leaving the matter in his hands. The newspapers, those supporting the Government as well as the

others, raged. The members, who had abandoned their convictions at the behest of the Lieutenant-Governor were denounced as traitors to the interests of the province.

But Head held his way. He drew up, with the assistance of the Executive Council, a set of regulations under which banks might continue business, after having suspended specie payment. Provision was made for the closest inspection of such banks as applied for the privilege, to assure the Lieutenant-Governor of their solvency. There were other regulations, which were rigid, though endurable. The last, however, was designed to reduce the privilege to a nullity. It stipulated that the bills of a bank, while refusing to redeem their bills in gold, would not be received in payment of Government revenues.

The publication of these conditions was the signal for a fresh outburst of wrath. But Head remained unmoved by the clamour. At the end of September, when the signs indicated that the crisis was easing off, Head had the satisfaction of receiving warm commendation for his firmness from leading bankers in New York, one of whom gave it as his opinion that the measures adopted by Head had raised the credit of Upper Canada to the highest pitch.

The province had not recovered from the depression of the preceding months when it was startled by the event with which Head's government has ever since been chiefly identified. On December 4, a band of rebels under the leadership of William Lyon Mackenzie threatened a raid on Toronto. Head's conduct throughout the exciting period was characteristic, that is to say, unpredictable. Insurrection was in full swing in Lower Canada, and Sir John Colborne, Commander of the Forces, desired to withdraw all the regular troops from Upper Canada. Head willingly consented, holding the sound doctrine that, if a province like Upper Canada could not purge itself of internal disorder, it was not worth keeping. Head's ideas were usually sound, but he gave them rein with a ruthless logic that made them dangerous. He said that he knew the malcontents were preparing for trouble and that he encouraged them by a show of inactivity. This is certainly no overstatement. He absolutely forbade any measures looking towards the protection of the city or province. Six thousand stand of small arms with ammunition were in Toronto—sufficient for the protection or capture of the city, according as they were in the hands of the Government or the rebels. Head ordered them to be kept in the market buildings under the care of two constables; and refused the offer of guard of 15 or 20 volunteer riflemen. He postponed appointments to fill up the vacancies in the staff of militia officers. As late as December 2, two days before the attempt on the city, Colonel Fitzgibbon, the Assistant Adjutant General, laid before an assemblage consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and his council, and some of the judges, alarming information as to an impending attack, and pleaded to be allowed to enlist all the half pay officers and discharged men he could find for garrison duty. Head answered scoffingly "What would the people of England think were we thus to arm?" As late as ten o'clock of the night of the attack, he was warned of its imminence. For answer he went back to his bed, to be awakened an hour later, with the news that the rebels were actually on the march towards the city.

When he had dressed and reached the street, he was as unhelpful and obstructive as a man beside himself could be. At day break on the following morning Colonel Fitzgibbon having satisfied himself by a personal reconnoitre that with the force he had in hand he could easily disperse the rebels, asked Head's permission to advance upon them. Head refused

peremptorily, exclaiming "No Sir! I will not fight them on their ground, they must fight me on mine!" and for fear that Fitzgibbon might do something that could be construed as aggression, Head forbade him to leave the City Hall. Fitzgibbon's disobedience of this command, and the preparations he made in conjunction with those before this incident, were, as the Bishop of Toronto and the Chief Justice testified, the means of preventing the city from falling into the hands of the rebels.

Head's report to the Colonial Secretary, made a fortnight later is exultant, a Miriam song. As a historical document it is not impeccable, but who expects a sordid exactitude in a lyric? He allowed Mackenzie to write what he chose, say what he chose and do what he chose and waited, with folded arms until he had collected his rebel forces and had actually commenced his attack. Then, with a sublime movement, he "as a solitary individual called upon the militia of Upper Canada to defend him". With what result? From ten to twelve thousand men simultaneously marched towards the capital "to support me in maintaining for the people of Upper Canada the British Constitution." The movement Toronto-ward had to be arrested. There was an *embarras de richesse*.

The cohorts of the enemy were of course, scattered and in flight—Mackenzie to the United States, Rolph in hiding, Bidwell gone from the province forever, Lount and Gibson making for the United States; Morrison and Van Egmont, prisoners. Duncombe still held the field but he would be quickly routed.

The moral stared one in the face. Head had been right from end to end. Had he not declared, not once but many times, that the inhabitants of Upper Canada detested democracy, and revered the monarchical institutions of the British Empire? His lordship must understand that the people of Upper Canada would no longer submit to the base conciliations which have long disgraced the Colonial Office. But how could things be better when a man, like Stephen, Under Secretary, wrote the despatches? Every British subject in the Canadas knew him for a rank republican, whose sentiments, conduct and political character are alike detested. "The triumph which this noble province has gained will never be complete until the Government shall remove from office a man, who, by discouraging the loyal and encouraging the disaffected, has at last succeeded in involving the Canadas in civil war."

While Head was engaged in delivering this broadside into the Colonial Office, the acceptance of his resignation was on its way to Toronto. Glenelg, as usual, devoted himself to a lengthy refutation of Head's statements and contentions, hoping thereby to conclude the disagreeable discussion. But Head was not the man to allow any person other than himself to have the last word. In his rejoinder, he gave his attention to certain extracts from Stephen's evidence before the House of Commons in 1828, which he stated to have been mainstays used by Mackenzie to bolster up his attacks on the Government, and exposed the falsity of Stephen's pernicious opinions.

Head had, in full measure, that sensitiveness to the opinions of others, which in the old fashioned language of phrenologists, was called approbateness. He craved for applause, and had his share of it in Upper Canada. There was one man, however, from whom he could not look for it. Lord Glenelg had many reasons for regarding Head censoriously.

What would have been Head's surprise to learn that the Colonial Secretary was setting him up as a model for his successors imitation! In

his instructions to Sir George Arthur, who replaced Head, Glenelg after mentioning his differences with Head, pays this glowing tribute to him and his administration:

"I cannot, however, on this account, forget the value of the services which he has rendered, nor can I testify my sense of them more strongly than by pointing out to your imitation the uncompromising firmness with which he resisted every endeavour to subvert the political institutions of Upper Canada, the energy with which he opposed himself to the enemies of order and of peace, and the frank and open bearing with which he threw himself on the loyalty, the reason and the public spirit of the great body of the people."

Here is Head's official epitaph, written with unquestionable sincerity by the man best qualified to judge, from the standpoint of the Imperial Government, as to the success or failure of the administration of a colony. Head might be self-opiniated, wilful, and wearisome in the iteration of unpalatable views, but he had achieved the main purpose for which a governor was appointed. He had preserved peace and order, by the employment of forces willingly supplied by the people themselves.

Consciously or unconsciously, Glenelg was pronouncing a requiem over a system which was rapidly passing. The movement towards self-government had the inevitability of a force of nature, and the most any man could do was to retard it a little. Liberal as he was, Glenelg could conceive of no system of colonial government different in principle from that which he had been called upon to administer, and that system could be perpetuated only by a line of governors of qualities so exceptional as to be practically non-existent.

LES CAUSES ET LES ORIGINES DES GRANDES DÉCOUVERTES

PAR EUGÈNE DÉPREZ

Le périple de l'Afrique et la découverte de nouveaux mondes jusque-là insoupçonnés, ont, dans le dernier quart du XVe siècle, ouvert de vastes horizons à l'esprit humain d'aventure et d'entreprise. L'étendue, qui était restée longtemps une barrière, devenait tout à coup une force. C'est bien un champ d'action nouveau. Les peuples occidentaux franchissent le cercle étroit où les enserraient les dispositions particulières qu'ils tenaient de la nature, les habitudes acquises, dues à la situation qu'ils occupaient dans le monde méditerranéen. Sur ces routes nouvelles de Colomb et de Gama, les négociants en quête de spéculations fructueuses et les chercheurs d'aventures s'élancent avec ardeur. L'idée de colonie renaît et les métropoles, jalouses à l'envi, s'évertuent à transformer ces courants d'émigration et d'expansion en essais durables de colonisation. Si Lisbonne devient à la fin du XVe siècle une ville cosmopolite où les agents d'espionnage coudoient les représentants officiels, c'est que les Etats ont compris que quelque chose de nouveau commençait: ils ont comme pressenti la gravité de l'heure et des conséquences. Sur ce globe terrestre qui dévoile enfin son mystère, il est indispensable de prendre position sans retard, pour ne pas se laisser distancer par des rivaux. Chacun, comme dit Commynes, a l'œil que son voisin ne s'accroisse. C'est une envolée d'espérances, une surexcitation de convoitises, un déchaînement d'âpre concurrence. Désormais, la force des Etats européens ne se mesurera pas au seul territoire qu'ils occupent dans l'ancien monde et un siècle et demi plus tard Richelieu pourra déclarer: " Sans la mer, il n'est politique qu'on puisse soutenir."

Les grandes découvertes qui ont déterminé des changements radicaux et profonds dans la vie des hommes et des peuples et qui, par leurs conséquences, ont ébranlé et remué le monde, n'apparaissent pas comme un fait brusque, spontané, sans racine dans le passé. Comme tout événement historique, elles s'expliquent. Elles s'expliquent par des antécédents précis, par un concours de possibilités logiques et par la survenance d'un élément décisif. Cet antécédent précis, c'est la fermeture, dès la fin du XIII siècle, de la route maritime des Indes, conséquence de la faillite des Croisades, au XIVe siècle la fermeture des routes transcontinentales d'Asie, conséquence des révolutions et de l'islamisation de l'Asie centrale. Ce concours de possibilités logiques, ce sont les progrès de l'astronomie nautique et la diffusion de l'humanisme critique, c'est-à-dire des observations et des méthodes scientifiques. Enfin, l'élément décisif, c'est d'abord l'initiative gênoise, ensuite l'effort portugais provoquant un entraînement prodigieux dans un milieu social particulièrement inflammable. La circumnavigation de l'Afrique et la découverte du Nouveau Monde sont l'aboutissement logique d'une série d'efforts patients, qui jalonnent le XIVe et le XVe siècles. De grandes navigations, audacieuses, brillantes, héroïques mêmes, les ont, durant deux siècles, précédées et préparées. Bien des naufrages ont marqué cette conquête inlassable de l'espace. Mais les risques de la grosse aventure n'ont pas refroidi l'ardeur de ces navigateurs intrépides, dont la devise semble avoir été déjà celle de Guillaume d'Orange: il n'est pas besoin de réussir pour persévérer.

L'esprit d'aventure, que n'effraie aucun obstacle de distance, le besoin de voir du pays, le goût inné des expéditions lointaines, fertiles en exploits, l'attrait de l'inconnu et du merveilleux, n'expliquent pas, seuls, cette fièvre d'explorations qui lança sur la mer des paladins dignes des héros des romans de chevalerie. Ces audacieux navigateurs, dont la passion des voyages s'alliait au mépris du danger, étaient pour la plupart au service de riches négociants, préoccupés d'étendre sans cesse le champ de leurs entreprises, pleins de sens pratique, mais peu enclins à obéir à des mobiles désintéressés. Armateurs et explorateurs devaient réciter la prière qu'on prête à ceux qui cherchent fortune: "Mon Dieu, je ne vous demande pas de me donner du bien, mais de me mettre où il y en a." Ils demandaient à la Providence de les conduire dans cet Eden, d'où l'on revenait riche, et l'on comprend la joie des Portugais découvrant les îles d'Epicerie: sur les cartes de l'Extrême-Orient, dont les routes n'ont plus de secrets pour eux, ils peignent une flotte entière, voguant pavillon déployé, et chaque voilier, gréé comme aux jours de fête, jette en passant cette triomphante devise: "Je viens des Moluques, je vais aux Moluques."

I

Si les peuples européens ont cherché, pendant deux siècles, à sortir de l'horizon rétréci de la Méditerranée, ce sont des raisons économiques qui les ont poussés sur les grands chemins de la mer. Par la collaboration des marins et des négociants les Croisades avaient développé la navigation et le commerce et singulièrement activé le trafic méditerranéen. Les colonies franques de Syrie avaient été une véritable bonne fortune pour les armateurs de Pise, de Gênes, de Venise et de Barcelone. Surtout, les républiques maritimes d'Italie, qui avaient systématiquement prêté leur appui aux établissements latins dans le Levant, avaient été payées par des privilèges commerciaux très étendus, parfois des quartiers entiers dans les ports, qui formaient de véritables villes génoises et vénitiennes analogues aux quartiers européens qui coexistent aujourd'hui en Chine avec les villes indigènes. Le monopole commercial qu'elles s'étaient réservé avait fait d'elles les grandes puissances entrepositaires du commerce avec l'Orient, les grandes transitaires, par suite les intermédiaires et les courtiers de l'Europe. Or, la prise de St-Jean d'Acre en 1290 et la perte de la Terre Sainte qui en fut la conséquence, restreignit le champ d'exploitation commerciale où avaient dominé Vénitiens et Génois: car les capitaux et les marchandises avaient suivi le pavillon. Les darses de Gênes et les quais de Venise s'en ressentirent.

A Damas convergeaient, comme dans un carrefour, les routes du golfe Persique par Bassorah et Bagdad, celles d'Arabie et d'Egypte. C'est dans cette ville que Bertrandon de la Broquière, premier écuyer tranchant de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, vit en 1432 une caravane de 3,000 chameaux arrivant de La Mecque et ce n'est point par un effet du hasard qu'il y rencontra un des brasseurs d'affaires de l'époque, le fameux Jacques Cœur à la recherche des épices.—Beyrouth, port de Damas, où Génois et Vénitiens avaient leurs églises et leurs colonies, était l'emporium le plus prospère, où les serges et les toiles de l'Occident s'échangeaient contre tous ces produits de l'Orient qui, sous un poids léger, avaient une très grosse valeur.

La chute du royaume latin de Jérusalem fit refluer dans les îles méditerranéennes les négociants des colonies franques de Syrie. Par sa situation géographique Chypre devint le poste avancé de l'Europe en face de

l'Asie et de l'Afrique. De Nicosie et de Famagouste, vastes camps retranchés, les Républiques marchandes regardèrent dès lors vers l'Égypte et vers Alexandrie. Elles reprirent l'idée qui avait hanté le cerveau de Charles d'Anjou, roi de Naples et de Sicile: avoir le monopole du commerce de l'Égypte et des régions lointaines dont elle recevait les produits.

Il y avait en effet un intérêt primordial à tenir les accès de la mer Rouge, qui était la voie commerciale de communication la plus courte entre l'extrême Orient et l'Occident. Cette nécessité est très nettement exprimée dans un curieux mémoire politique "Sur la façon d'extirper l'Islam", écrit en 1317 par un missionnaire languedocien, Guillaume Adam, qui avait été archevêque de Sultanieh en Perse, après avoir parcouru l'Orient grec, l'empire Mongol et les contrées avoisinant le golfe Persique. Pendant, dit-il, que la flotte chrétienne assurera le blocus des possessions musulmanes dans la Méditerranée, une autre flotte croisera à l'entrée du golfe d'Aden et du golfe Persique pour empêcher le ravitaillement par des convois venant de l'Asie et de l'Inde. C'était prendre la mer Rouge islamique dans une tenaille. Mais si la construction d'une flotte dans la mer des Indes paraissait à beaucoup irréalisable—et un contemporain avait manifesté son sentiment en 1320 avec humour: Je partirai, avait-il dit, quand l'eau remontera son cours ou quand la glace sera noire,—l'occupation du delta du Nil était plus à portée de la main. Cette ambition de reprendre pied sur le continent fut celle de la dynastie chypriote et notamment de Pierre Ier de Lusignan. Ce roi insulaire parcourut l'Europe pour intéresser les princes à son projet de croisade et entraîner la chrétienté. Mais il ne put que séduire Froissart par la devise inscrite sur le pommeau de son épée, ramasser des cadeaux et recueillir de bonnes paroles. Trop d'intérêts particuliers s'opposaient en effet à une entreprise dont l'entente préalable entre les princes chrétiens était la condition nécessaire. Or, vis-à-vis de l'Islam, la Société des Nations n'était pas unanime. Beaucoup étaient de connivence avec les Sultans.

Si personne au XIVe siècle ne songeait à faire des sacrifices pour une cause toujours annoncée, toujours contremandée, tous demandaient, comme au temps de Rutebœuf, que le poivre fût bien fort. La croisade était une affaire à apparences pieuses, mais à dessous commerciaux: l'astucieux vénitien Marino Sanudo l'ancien, lorsqu'il réchauffait pour la croisade le zèle refroidi des grands sceptiques et des petits désillusionnés, était le porte-parole des commerçants, en écrivant dans les *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* qu'il présentait au pape Jean XXII en 1321: "Il y a dans cette sainte entreprise plus d'argent à gagner que de dépenses à faire."

Ce furent en effet les Vénitiens qui prêtèrent au roi de Chypre l'appui qu'il avait vainement demandé à l'Europe. Grâce à eux Alexandrie fut prise en 1365 et les habiles négociants de la Sérénissime République crurent enfin tenir la clef de l'Orient; ils y arborèrent le drapeau rouge dentelé au centre duquel se détache, en blanc, une tête de lion, emblème de leur force. Mais la victoire chypriote, si pauvrement rimée sur un ton d'épopée par le poète historiographe Guillaume de Machaut, n'eut pas de lendemain. Le sultan du Caire, soutenu par une féodalité militaire turbulente, se ressaisit et la tenaille islamique se resserra pour écraser cette domination éphémère. Les Mamelouks n'entendaient ni abandonner aux marchands européens le monopole du commerce de la mer Rouge, ni tolérer la fondation d'une base coloniale. Le sultan Moaz Eddin, d'après l'historien arabe Makrizi, n'avait-il pas eu le geste symbolique en ordonnant de raser la forteresse de Damiette, faite exprès pour appeler les armes des Francs? C'est qu'il voulait rester politiquement le maître de l'Égypte, pays de transit mondial, et

servir d'intermédiaire entre les courtiers de la France et les marchands musulmans qui apportaient les produits de la Chine, de l'Inde et de l'Afrique.—Les ports de la mer Rouge et du golfe Persique étaient le centre du monde, "Ouma el Douma." De là partaient les sambouks et les boutres arabes, caboteurs à voile unique, au devant des jonques chinoises, maîtresses du commerce de la Malaisie, qui sillonnaient les mers de Sumatra, de Java et de Bornéo, même de la Nouvelle-Guinée.—Ils transportaient les pierres précieuses, la rhubarbe, les épices et les porcelaines. Nous savons que des villes arabes s'élevaient à Canton, à Zaitoun (Tsouen, Tscheou-Fou), le marché de satin, et à Quinsay (Hang Theou) et les instructions nautiques des pilotes (mu'allim) sont des preuves indiscutables de thalassocraties puissantes que l'Europe, placée derrière l'écran égyptien, soupçonnait à peine. Postés aux bouches du Nil, maîtres de la Syrie, de l'Arabie et de la Nubie, les Mameluks barraient la route des Indes.—Ils ne l'avaient ni largement ouverte, ni totalement fermée. La porte était seulement entrebâillée. Catalans, Gênois, Florentins, Anconitans, Vénitiens attendaient dans les fondouks d'Alexandrie et les "loogie degli mercanti", où leurs firmes commerciales avaient été autorisées à s'établir, les arrivages irréguliers d'un trafic dont ils n'avaient ni le contrôle ni la direction. Ils étaient à la discrétion des douaniers impitoyables qui surveillaient l'entrée et la sortie des produits exotiques et dont les exigences financières étaient parfois exorbitantes. On comprend alors qu'ils aient cherché à échapper à l'étreinte, surtout lorsque au milieu du XIVE siècle les persécutions ordonnées contre les chrétiens par le fanatique Melik el Nacir Mohammed menacèrent leur sécurité.

Pour aller aux Indes, dans l'Insulinde et dans la Chine, il y avait en effet une route mixte, maritime par l'océan Indien, continentale depuis Ormuz par la Perse, plus longue peut-être mais plus sûre pour deux raisons.

La première, c'est que le golfe Persique n'est pas comme la mer Rouge semé d'écueils, traversé par des courants, balayé par des vents, recouvert pendant la nuit de vapeurs blafardes dues à une évaporation intense. Pour les voiliers la navigation y est moins dangereuse et le détroit d'Ormuz n'est pas une porte des Larmes (Bab el Mandeb). La seconde, c'est que le tronçon continental d'Ormuz sur le golfe Persique à Trébizonde sur la mer Noire traversait le Khanat Mongol de Perse, dont les Khans tolérants avaient laissé s'établir sur les anciennes routes d'Alexandre à travers la Médie de nombreuses et florissantes chrétientés et des châteaux gênois qui servaient d'hôtelleries aux trafiquants.—Ceux-ci du moins étaient-ils assurés de ne pas subir, comme dans les échelles du Levant, d'avanies, c'est-à-dire d'amendes imposées par les fanatiques sous les prétextes les plus inattendus.—Aussi préféraient-ils, au début du XIVE siècle, la route de Perse à celle d'Egypte dont le trafic leur échappait. D'Ormuz que Ibn Batoutah dit servir d'entrepôt à l'Inde, par Yezd, oasis au centre de la mer de Sable, la route arrivait en soixante jours à Sultanieh, résidence d'été bâtie par le Khan mongol Argoun. Elle longeait ensuite la Caspienne, atteignait Tebriz, capitale de l'Azerbaïdjan, traversait le mont Ararat par le col du Chameau et par Erzeroum et Baïbourt, débouchait sur la mer Noire à Trébizonde, où des comptoirs gênois et vénitiens étaient installés. Les lettres des missionnaires de Perse à leurs couvents parlent toujours des marchands latins qui les accompagnent et nous savons qu'un jeune gênois ensevelit les corps des martyrs à Tans, dans l'île de Salsette, près de Bombay.

Ainsi, l'Europe commerciale avait regagné du côté de la Perse ce qu'elle avait perdu en Syrie, ce qu'elle maintenait difficilement en Egypte.

—Mais cette voie Trébizonde-Ormuz, dont un des voyageurs de la maison de banque des Bardi de Florence, Francesco Balducci Peglotti, nous a laissé en 1350 un guide précieux dans sa *prattica della Mercatura*, fut à son tour occupée au XIV^e siècle. L'islamisation de l'Asie Centrale, la chute du Khanat mongol de Perse, l'offensive osmanli, la lutte des Turcs avec les Timourides empêchèrent tout trafic. La voie purement continentale, celle de Marco Polo par Azov. Astrakan, le Krorassan et la Mongolie, était à plus forte raison impraticable.—Azov est pris par les Turcs en 1450, Trébizonde en 1461. Il y a désormais une cloison hermétique, cette barrière turco-arabe, qui sépare l'extrême Orient du monde occidental. Les Chinois sous les Ming devinrent qu'il y a quelque chose d'anormal.—L'empereur Young-Lo envoie ses flottes croiser devant Aden et devant Ormuz au-devant du monde arabe, comme pour découvrir les raisons de cette soudaine éclipse. Les épices se font rares. Elles deviennent de plus en plus chères. Dès 1380 un évêque de Pamiers évalue ses rentes annuelles au cours du poivre. Les frères et les neveux du florentin Toscanelli, qui font en gros le commerce des épices, demandent au XV^e siècle à leur oncle de mettre sa science cosmographique au service de leurs intérêts.

Refoulés du côté de l'Est, les Européens chercheront par l'Orient à atteindre ces pays producteurs dont un dominicain, frère Jordan Catala, le premier évêque catholique de l'Inde majeure, disait en 1321: "Au delà il y a l'Ethiopie, dont nos marchands latins affirment que la voie est ouverte." Il était donc naturel que les Gênois, après les Portugais, aient d'abord songé à la circumnavigation de l'Afrique.—En 1291, au moment où la domination latine s'effondrait en Syrie et en Palestine comme par un pressentiment des répercussions qu'elle entraînait, on faisait à Gênes les préparatifs de l'expédition et Doria Vivaldi devait tenter le périple de l'Afrique.

II

Sans les progrès accomplis dans la cartographie, l'hydrographie et l'astronomie nautique, sans des méthodes scientifiques de travail que l'humanisme critique devait appliquer à la connaissance du globe, à la cosmogonie, de pareilles entreprises n'eussent pas été possibles.—L'Océan et ses profondeurs mystérieuses inspiraient aux marins une terreur d'autant plus grande qu'ils ne savaient pas déterminer la position occupée par un navire sur la surface du globe.—Ils étaient incapables de résoudre le problème du point.—"Il n'y a personne, dit Abou Rihan le Birounien, en parlant de l'Atlantique, qui oserait prendre son large, on tient ses rivages." A la fin du XIII^e siècle, en dehors de la Méditerranée, mer fermée, la navigation au long cours était inconnue. Les marins longeaient encore les côtes sur le littoral océanique d'île en île, de cap en cap. Ils ne prenaient d'ailleurs la mer qu'en belle saison. Jean de Meung, traduisant en 1284 Végèce, nous parle des mois où l'on navigue plus sûrement; à la même époque le catalan Raymond Lulle résume dans son *Art de naviguer* les connaissances expérimentales nécessaires à un commerce de cabotage et le roman de Guerino Meschino, écrit à Florence au début du XIV^e siècle, nous parle des navigateurs de l'époque qui voguent en toute sécurité à l'aide de la boussole, de l'étoile et de la carte. L'étoile, c'était la polaire, tramontane chez les Occidentaux, gâh chez les Arabes.—On naviguait donc souvent à l'estime en observant les constellations, non seulement la Polaire, mais la Grande Ourse que les Arabes appelaient le Cercueil (Nach) et la Petite Ourse que les Occidentaux avaient dénommée "la Géline poucinière".

On croyait d'ailleurs que la polaire attirait à elle l'aiguille (Stylus) qui touche l'aimant, (Magnes), l'aiguille aimantée soutenue sur l'eau par un flotteur qui s'appelait la calamite ou, en langage de marin, la marinette. A la fin du XIII^e siècle, l'aiguille fut placée sur un pivot entouré d'un cercle gradué et logé dans une boîte, bossola, boussole. Par fierté patriotique les Italiens en attribuent l'invention à un Amalfitain, Flavio Gioja. D'autres en revendiquent l'honneur pour les Chinois.—Il est probable que cet instrument de bord, d'un usage courant, fut perfectionné par les Arabes qui ont certainement devancé les Occidentaux dans l'astronomie nautique et spécialement dans l'application de la boussole à la navigation. Ils avaient imaginé l'astrolabe à degré (isbà) qui permettait, par l'observation d'une étoile, de déterminer tous les ports situés entre l'Afrique, la Chine et la Malaisie. Ils évaluaient par 3 heures de mer les distances entre deux points déterminés et les pilotes (mu'allin) consignaient, dans des instructions nautiques fort détaillées, les résultats de leurs observations et de leurs calculs. D'après les routiers établis par Ahmad Ibn Mâdjes, originaire de Djulfar dans l'Oman, il est certain qu'au X^e siècle avant l'époque où les Portugais essayaient timidement le périple de l'Afrique en longeant les côtes, les navigations arabes dans les mers de l'Inde et l'Extrême Orient étaient franchement hauturières.

Il se peut que les méthodes des Arabes, d'ailleurs plutôt expérimentales que rigoureusement scientifiques, les astrolabes à degré qu'ils utilisaient, les instructions et routiers où ils avaient exposé leurs calculs, aient été connus des marins et des savants par les Latins de Syrie. Les Croisades avaient, en effet, élargi l'horizon des esprits et par le frottement de civilisations différentes mûri les idées, suggéré des rapprochements. Par les Croisées, les Occidentaux ont mieux connu l'Islam et ses "Mahomeries". Il y a eu pénétration réciproque profonde.

Mais les vrais intermédiaires entre la science occidentale et la science arabe ont été les Juifs qui, avides de s'instruire, ont, par un vaste et opiniâtre travail de traductions, mis la science arabe à la portée de leurs coreligionnaires. Des familles juives venues d'Espagne et qui, par suite, avaient gardé avec les Arabes un contact étroit et dont la plus célèbre est celle des Tibbonides, accomplirent ce travail dans le midi de la France où elles étaient venues s'établir. Ces traductions stimulèrent l'ardeur des rabbins juifs, esprits rationalistes, philosophes et mathématiciens. L'un d'eux, célèbre astronome, dont Copernic avait lu les œuvres, Jacob ben Makir, traduisit en 1275 à Montpellier le traité d'Abou Quassim Ahmed ibn el Sefar sur l'usage de l'astrolabe. Mais ce traducteur était doublé d'un inventeur. Car, en 1299, il donnait la description d'un instrument astronomique, le quadrant ou quart de cercle, imaginé par lui et qui constituait un sérieux progrès sur les astrolabes. Car le quadrant permettait de calculer la hauteur des astres au-dessus de l'horizon, du soleil pendant le jour, des planètes et de la lune pendant la nuit. C'était l'opération indispensable pour trouver la latitude. Ces traductions d'arabe en hébreu et ces traités en hébreu furent à leur tour traduits par les rabbins en latin ou en français. A Malines l'astronome Henri Bate avait chez lui à ses gages le juif Hagins qui l'aida à composer en 1274 un traité de l'astrolabe et à fabriquer des instruments. A Paris en 1309, Pierre de Saint-Omer traduisit en latin le quadrant de Jacob ben Makir et le corrigeait. Toutes ces traductions, dont le roi Robert d'Anjou, comte de Provence, avait été l'instigateur, piquèrent l'émulation des savants. L'astronome Guillaume de Saint-Cloud, qui avait composé un almanach et un calendrier pour la reine de France, Marie de Brabant, femme de Philippe III le Hardi, avait décrit

un instrument, appelé "Directorium", qui servait à prendre la hauteur du soleil, et il avait exprimé l'espoir qu'un jour on entreprendrait des observations avec de nouveaux appareils pour corriger les positions des étoiles.

Ces expériences, commencées à Barcelone par un savant pensionné par le roi d'Aragon, furent le triomphe d'un juif provençal, Levi Ben-Gerson, originaire de Bagnols dans le Gard, le plus célèbre des exégètes et des mathématiciens juifs du Moyen-Age. Levi avait cherché à Orange une consolation dans l'étude. Les mesures fiscales prises par les royautes, Edouard Ier en Angleterre, Rodolphe de Hasbourg, Philippe le Bel et ses fils, persécutions, proscriptions, confiscations, avaient déterminé une émigration des communautés juives du nord vers le midi. "L'herbe vénéneuse qui devait être déracinée dans le champ du seigneur" avait repoussé autour d'Avignon, dont le pontife était d'autant plus tolérant qu'il avait besoin des banquiers pour étendre dans la chrétienté un réseau d'échanges monétaires. Les Israélites avaient trouvé en Provence, dans les royaumes de Catalogne et de Majorque, surtout dans les Etats pontificaux, la Terre Promise par leurs rabbins dans les élégies qu'on récitait dans les synagogues: "Que Dieu nous sauve de peuple violent. Il a cependant créé le monde pour tous les descendants du premier homme sans exception."

Immanuel Bon-fils, Jacob Bonet, Levi ben Gerson, avaient trouvé à Tarascon, à Perpignan et à Orange l'asile propice pour leurs études et leurs recherches astronomiques. Ils y enseignaient les mathématiques et la manière de construire les astrolabes. Ben Gerson composa en hébreu vers 1320 un livre appelé "Guerres du Seigneur" dont la partie astronomique fit tellement sensation dans le monde chrétien que le Pape Clément VI en fit faire une traduction latine en 1342 et c'est cette traduction que plus tard Kepler aurait tant voulu connaître. Nul ne paraît avoir porté dans la cosmographie mathématique autant de science et de sagacité. Levi avait inventé et décrit un instrument avec lequel il mesurait la distance des étoiles, le "Révélateur des mystères et des profondeurs", que plus tard on appela le Bâton de Levi. C'est cette arbalestrille que Martin Behaim de Nuremberg aurait, vers la fin du XVe siècle, apportée au Portugal comme une invention de son professeur et maître Régismontan. Ce ne sont donc pas les Allemands, mais les mathématiciens juifs qui ont fourni aux marins les méthodes et les instruments nécessaires pour se lancer et se reconnaître en plein océan.

Il y a au musée des antiquités de Rouen un astrolabe en cuivre, dit de Bethencourt, que l'on date de 1350 et auquel on a attribué une paternité normande pour prouver que les Normands n'ont pas été les disciples des Portugais, qu'ils naviguaient avec eux en haute mer et qu'ils ont peut-être découvert l'Amérique. Cet astrolabe, à face circulaire et à face quadrant, chargé de tracés astronomiques, permettait de calculer la longitude et la latitude en mer, d'évaluer la distance parcourue, de faire le point. Il est l'œuvre d'un constructeur très versé dans la science nautique, mais il est tellement compliqué qu'il a dû être un appareil de laboratoire et d'observatoire et non un instrument courant de bord. Il paraît difficile d'admettre, comme certains le prétendent, que les pilotes et les marins du XIVE et du XVe siècle se soient servis dans leurs calculs nautiques de la trigonométrie et des décimales. Seuls dans les Universités, les professeurs et leurs élèves se sont livrés à de pareilles opérations récréatives.

Le grand mérite des Portugais sera de substituer à des notions utiles, acquises par l'expérience, des procédés pratiques à base scientifique, pour connaître par l'observation des astres la direction d'un navire. Ils n'oublieront pas le progrès que les mathématiciens juifs ont fait faire à la

science nautique. Ils comprendront que l'essor des grandes découvertes est un peu leur œuvre, le fruit d'une somme extraordinaire de travail. Les savants juifs seront les membres les plus écoutés des juntas portugaises. Ils instruiront les pilotes, les initieront aux calculs pratiques, d'autant plus nécessaires et nouveaux que l'équateur aura été franchi. Et sous le secret professionnel ils dirigeront ce bureau des longitudes, installé dans la villa de l'Infant, qu'une heureuse et éloquente légende a placé, près de Sagres, à la pointe du Cap Saint-Vincent, d'où la vue s'étend sur le large.

En étudiant les littératures judéo-arabe et judéo-provençale, Renan, avec son brillant esprit qui du premier coup d'œil savait voir les ensembles, a bien montré que la science latine naissait, à mesure que la science arabe disparaissait. Cette évolution nouvelle de l'esprit humain allait donner au travail israélite tout son prix: les juifs devaient, en effet, avoir une part considérable dans l'œuvre de la Renaissance. Leurs conceptions rationalistes ont frayé la voie à l'humanisme critique et exercé une influence salutaire sur les progrès accomplis dans la connaissance du monde. "On sent, dit Renan, que les explications positives et expérimentales sont une école bien préférable aux esprits que les interminables argumentations des docteurs et qu'à côté de l'insignifiance scolastique naît une science réelle qui remplacera par l'étude des faits la chimère des abstractions. L'opinion éclairée s'est détournée de la métaphysique. De l'abstraction on est passé à la réalité. On veut savoir le monde et l'on soulève le voile devant lequel on s'était arrêté jusque-là avec tremblement". Folies et rêveries ont fait leur temps et cédé le pas au bon sens, à la réflexion et à l'observation attentive. Nul ne veut plus croire que les éclipses sont réglées par des anges chargés de transporter les étoiles, que la succession des jours et des nuits s'explique par l'interposition d'une grande montagne, derrière laquelle, chaque soir, vient se reposer le soleil.

Les traductions hébraïques provoquent un retour à la science grecque qui avait été le fondement et le point de départ de la science géographique chez les Arabes. La géographie de Ptolémée que le khalife Almamoun avait fait traduire en arabe au IX^e siècle est, pour la première fois, traduite en latin en 1409 par un moine florentin, Jacobo Angelo. Dès 1475, l'imprimerie en répand la version plusieurs fois remaniée et l'Atlas des 26 cartes qu'avaient tracées les Dicéarque, les Hipparque et les Marin de Tyr, si avantageusement utilisées dès le Xe siècle par les géographes arabes. Les savants, dont la curiosité est tenue en éveil, veulent trouver par l'expérience le Paradis terrestre, l'alter Orbis décrit par Pomponius Mela, l'antichtone, cette terre opposée dont les géographes de l'école d'Alexandrie, par des théories de physique générale, avaient jadis admis l'existence. Ils cherchent à savoir si l'œcumène est divisé en trois parties, si la figure du monde entier est un carré inscrit dans un cercle ou bien un T dans un O, si la terre est entourée d'eau, si, au contraire, une zone torride inhabitable ou une zone équatoriale isole deux zones tempérées habitées. La Renaissance ptoléméenne engendre durant tout le XV^e siècle, avec les modes de projection les plus variés, des portulans, des mappemondes sur parchemin ou gravées sur cuivre, des globes dorés qui sont l'ornement des cabinets, des ciboires, dont la sphère en argent, s'ouvrant à l'équateur, est portée sur les épaules d'un Atlas. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini se passionne pour la géographie et le roi René orne de cartes murales ses châteaux d'Angers, d'Aix et de Tarascon. Mathématiciens, astronomes, physiciens exposent leurs systèmes du monde dans des traités de la sphère et, pendant qu'ils dissertent sur l'ombilic du monde, les cartographes discutent les raisons pour lesquelles Marin de Tyr, après lui, Ptolémée et, à sa suite, les Arabes ont

choisi pour le premier méridien les îles Fortunées, dont la position est indéterminée, mais qui sont à la limite la plus occidentale de l'univers. Aussi leurs cartes se peuplent-elles à l'orient d'îles et de terres fantastiques, l'île Antilia, l'île Brasil, l'île Saint-Brandan, l'île de la Main de Satan. Les imaginations travaillent et les plus intrépides rêvent aux rivages de l'Atlantide, l'île mystérieuse qui, selon Platon, était échouée à l'ouest à Neptune, quand les Dieux s'étaient partagé la terre. Là, deux statues bizarres indiquent aux navigateurs les limites infranchissables au delà desquelles chaque nuit une grande main sort de l'eau pour saisir les imprudents et les entraîner dans l'abîme. Tout cela, c'est l'océan, c'est l'inconnu, à l'ouest comme au sud. Une carte établie vers 1367 par le Vénitien Francesco Pizzigani nous représente St-Brandan se promenant au large des Canaries dans ce pays des délices où l'hagiographe irlandais avait placé le paradis des âmes immortelles. Un siècle plus tard, avant 1461, une médaille commandée par Charles d'Anjou, comte du Maine, fils de Louis II, roi de Sicile, au célèbre médailleur italien Francesco Laurana, trahit la préoccupation des esprits: elle porte au revers une carte géographique où l'on voit au-dessous de l'Europe, de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, séparée par l'océan, une terre appelée: "Brumæ". Cette région sud-africaine, cette portion océanique à l'ouest et à l'est du Cap, c'est le pays et la mer des Ténèbres, où, selon les cartes arabes, le Juif Errant et le prophète Elie avaient seuls pénétré. Qui donc découvrirait ce qui était profondément caché, puisque la navigation était devenue une science? Qui oserait se lancer dans l'inconnu, franchir les colonnes d'Hercule, bornes du monde, soulever le voile et, faisant sienne la devise de Charles-Quint, *ultra*, transformer le rêve en réalité?

III

L'initiative est partie des peuples méditerranéens qui se sentaient emmaillotés dans le berceau trop rigide d'une mer fermée: Gênois d'abord, après eux Catalans et Majorquins. Le premier portulan daté (1313) est, en effet, l'œuvre du Gênois, Pietro Vesconte, et la boussole Catalane porte des noms de vents italiens.

Il est possible qu'avant eux des marins de l'océan, baleiniers de Biscaye et de la Côte basque, morutiers dieppois, Irlandais et Gallois, portés par des courants, aient pris pied dans le monde nouveau auquel Amerigo Vespuce devait donner son nom. Mais les navigations de Madoc, fils d'Owen Gwynned, et de Riryd au XIII^e siècle, reposent sur de bien vagues témoignages historiques; ni la linguistique, ni l'ethnologie n'ont prouvé l'origine cymrique ou basque de tribus indiennes de l'Amérique précolombienne ni leur évangélisation par des missionnaires chrétiens venus d'Irlande. Quant aux Dieppois, on n'en sait pas davantage sur leur navigation que sur la présence des Chinois au XIII^e siècle dans le Honduras.

Ce qui est certain, c'est que les Vikings Scandinaves, hardis navigateurs, ont visité aux Xe et XI^e siècles les côtes orientales de l'Amérique du Nord. Après avoir conquis cette Islande singulière, où des gerbes d'eau bouillante jaillissaient d'un sol glacé, ils ont, sous Eric le Rouge, colonisé le Groenland, autant d'escales successives qui leur ont permis d'atteindre le Helluland (Labrador et le Markland, peut-être Terre-Neuve). Poussant plus loin à l'ouest, Leif Erikson, d'après Adam de Brême et les Sagas islandaises, auraient découvert le Vineland, où poussait la vigne sauvage et que certains ont identifié avec la Nouvelle-Ecosse. Un chef norvégien, Shrofirn Karlsevne, y aurait séjourné vers 1007. Mais ni l'archéologie ni la linguistique n'ont, par des arguments probants, retrouvé les traces de ces

établissements passagers et éphémères; les inscriptions de la baie de Fundy, de Dighton Rock, dans le Massachusetts, de l'île Montegarn dans le Maine, de Kewington dans le Minnesota, n'ont rien de runique et l'édifice circulaire en ruine retrouvé sur la plage de Newport, près de Boston, dans Rhode Island, où l'on a cru reconnaître une église ronde norvégienne du XI^e siècle, est tout simplement un ancien moulin à vent. Mais il est certain que Islandais et Groenlandais, habitants de l'île des Morues (Stocafixa), avaient atteint un pays très éloigné et certains textes donnent à réfléchir. En 1276 l'archevêque de Trondjhem demande au pape à être dispensé de tournée pastorale dans le diocèse de Gardar, son suffragant, pour ne pas être absent pendant cinq ans. En 1326, les collecteurs pontificaux en Norvège envoient comme présent une coupe en noix d'outre-mer provenant du Vineland, ce pays fabuleux d'où les nefs scandinaves, d'après Philippe de Mezières, dans le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin écrit en 1380, mettaient trois ans à revenir. Cette noix de coco mentionnée dans les comptes de la Papauté avignonnaise, fournit un sérieux argument aux Américanistes qui, d'après les textes norrois, nient la découverte du Nouveau-Monde par les Scandinaves. La Saga d'Eric le Rouge raconte que Karlsevne et ses compagnons partirent du Groenland d'abord vers le sud en longeant la côte puis à l'est. Les manuscrits des géographes islandais du XIV^e siècle —mais dont les sources sont plus anciennes— parlent de " Vineland la Bonne " que quelques-uns pensent rattachée à l'Afrique. Aussi a-t-on identifié le pays avec les îles Fortunées que les légendes classiques plaçaient au couchant du monde. Il n'est donc pas téméraire de supposer que les scandinaves ont pu devancer les Gênois partis à la fin du XIII^e siècle à la recherche des Gorgades et des Hespérides.

On ne peut d'ailleurs pas affirmer que parmi les peuples méditerranéens les Gênois ont été les premiers découvreurs. On s'accorde à dire qu'un Gênois d'origine française, Lancelot Maloisel, donna son nom (Lanzarote), vers 1275, à l'une des sept îles de l'archipel canarien: dans la mappemonde d'Angelino Dulcert, qui date de 1339, figure, en effet, sur cette île la croix de Gênes. Mais comme les journaux de bord n'existaient pas, comme les résultats des entreprises demeuraient le secret des Gouvernements et des armateurs, une terre nouvelle a pu avoir été inconnue en même temps par des marins naviguant sous des pavillons différents. C'est ce qui a dû arriver et nous en avons la preuve dans les réponses fort suggestives adressées au pape en 1344 par les rois de Castille et de Portugal. En 1341, deux nefs portugaises, commandées par un Gênois et un Florentin, en 1342 deux nefs de Bayonne, pilotées par des Majorquins, avaient découvert les Canaries qu'on appelait les îles de la Fortune. Deux ans après, le pape Clément VI nommait et couronnait comme prince de ces îles — mais, sous condition que le nouveau principat serait un fief du Saint Siège, — un infant d'Espagne qui avait juré à Avignon devant le sacré collège d'y porter, ainsi que dans les autres îles adjacentes, la foi catholique. Pour l'aider dans cette évangélisation urgente et dans la prise de possession temporelle, le pape avait prié les rois de la péninsule ibérique, Aragon, Castille, Portugal, de fournir des bateaux, des hommes et des vivres. Préoccupé par des intérêts méditerranéens tout à fait opposés vers l'est, le roi d'Aragon ne répondit pas, le roi de Castille fit entendre de respectueuses doléances qui dénotent sa fierté, mais qui trahissent ses ambitions. " Saint Père, écrit-il, je m'incline devant votre concession de terres, mais tout le monde sait que mes aïeux d'illustre mémoire se sont assez exposés et dépensés dans la lutte contre les puissants rois de l'Afrique et que l'acquisition du royaume africain appartient en droit à moi et à nul autre." Le

roi de Portugal affirma sa politique réaliste. " Saint Père, écrit-il de son château de Montemor-o-Novo, je vous réponds point par point. Les premiers découvreurs de ces îles furent les habitants de mon royaume qui en est le plus rapproché. Pour mener à bon fin le projet que j'ai en tête, j'ai déjà envoyé des navires et des marins pour reconnaître un pays que j'estime être dans les conditions les meilleures pour annexer. Ils y sont allés, y ont ravi par force des indigènes, des bêtes et des productions qu'ils m'ont ramenés avec une grande joie. Une expédition militaire serait déjà sur ces lieux, si la guerre avec la Castille d'une part, avec les rois sarrasins de l'autre, n'avait contrecarré mon dessein. Mes ambassadeurs à Avignon vous ont dit fort justement que la désignation d'un prince lèsera mes intérêts. Car j'ai engagé heureusement une affaire que je veux honorablement terminer. Vous auriez donc dû vous adresser à moi avant tout autre. Quant au secours militaire et pécuniaire que vous attendez de moi, je l'accorderais si je le pouvais. Mais j'ai besoin de toutes mes forces et de toutes mes ressources pour lutter contre les Maures qui sont mes voisins. Je ne puis donner ce que je n'ai pas. D'ailleurs, qui consent, alors que ses agneaux ont soif, à laisser dériver à l'usage des voisins l'eau dont la source est dans ses domaines? Charité bien ordonnée ne commence-t-elle pas par soi-même? "

La correspondance échangée entre la cour d'Avignon et les royaumes ibériques jette une vive lumière sur l'origine et la date des premières découvertes et laisse entrevoir l'avenir. L'année 1342, où l'archipel canarien est reconnu, c'est celle où Clément VI fait traduire d'hébreu en latin la description de cette arbalétrille, si précieuse pour l'astronomie nautique, dont vingt ans auparavant le juif provençal Levi Ben Gerson avait été l'inventeur. Le Saint Siège s'intéresse d'autant plus aux découvertes que les îles de la Fortune émergeant de l'océan, comme des récifs coralligènes, ouvraient des horizons nouveaux pour la propagation de la foi et pour une fiscalité envahissante. La domination temporelle qu'il conférerait était le corollaire de la domination spirituelle. Plus tard Alexandre VI, en 1493, fixera par une bulle la ligne de démarcation entre la Castille et le Portugal, ces deux puissances maritimes de l'Atlantique, soucieuses de leur expansion, rivales dès leur naissance et dont le milieu du XIV^e siècle marque l'entrée en scène.

Jusque-là la Castille et le Portugal avait tourné le dos à la mer. Ces peuples de pasteurs et de viticulteurs n'avaient pas encore cherché à tirer profit d'une position et d'une situation qui expliquent leur fortune. La reconquista du royaume de Grenade les préoccupait et suffisait à les absorber. Ils réservaient l'avenir. L'apparition des marins méditerranéens dans l'Atlantique décida de leurs destinées futures. La guerre entre la France et l'Angleterre avait sous Philippe le Bel provoqué un appel et les galères génoises, habituées depuis les Croisades à courir la Méditerranée, s'étaient mises au service des belligérants. Munies de portulans, les carraques de commerce avaient suivi la flotte mercenaire. Au large de Gibraltar, dans cet océan dont elles avaient franchi les bornes, elles allaient en longeant les côtes, jusqu'à l'Ecluse, le port de Bruges, où elles échangeaient leurs cargaisons avec les hourques de la Hanse, tandis que d'autres, divergeant vers le sud, exploraient les côtes marocaines jusqu'à Saffi et Agadir en bordure du Sahara, que les annalistes génois appelaient le pays des gazelles. Ce sont les Génois qui, par leurs connaissances hydrographiques et cartographiques, ont éveillé chez les Portugais l'idée d'expansion maritime. Les rois de Portugal, devinant que l'avenir de leur royaume était sur l'eau, ont pris à leur service pour les chantiers de constructions navales ces maîtres

experts " du noble, très subtil, hasardeux et dangereux art et métier de la mer ", ces pilotes qui faisaient école et entraînaient des rivaux dangereux, Catalans, Majorquins, Castellans, " fluctuans et saillans parmi les ondes innumérables ". A une heure décisive, ils ont pris position pour ne pas être plus tard distancés. Les circonstances ont d'ailleurs heureusement servi leur volonté tenace dans la réalisation d'une idée fixe.

Les puissances maritimes de la Méditerranée, s'éliminant d'elles-mêmes, ont laissé le champ libre aux Portugais. Ceux-ci ont pu craindre un moment la concurrence majorquine. Jacques Sagarra, en 1352, débarquait aux Canaries pour convertir les Guanches.

Jaime Ferrer s'était même avancé jusqu'au Rio de Ouro entre le Cap Bojador et le Cap Blanc, en 1343. Mais la lutte avec l'Aragon détourna pour des soucis plus immédiats les explorations tentées par la royauté de Majorque, si faible qu'elle finit par s'absorber dans l'unité catalane. Une école incomparable de cartographie demeura le seul vestige d'un effort éphémère et stérile. L'Aragon, qui vise à l'hégémonie méditerranéenne, a les yeux fixés sur l'est vers l'Italie et les Balkans. Venise veut à tout prix maintenir l'empire qu'elle a fondé dans l'Adriatique, la Mer Noire et le Levant, et se cramponne éperduement dans les Echelles à un monopole de jour en jour plus compromis. Seule, Gênes, qui a pressenti la gravité des conséquences créées par la faillite des Croisades et par l'apparition des Osmanlis, cherche d'abord à s'assurer des débouchés vers l'ouest pour compenser le déclin de ses comptoirs, jadis si prospères à Trébizonde, à Varna, à Sébastopol et Balaclava en Crimée. Mais peu à peu ses armateurs abandonnent l'Atlantique, préférant, aux expéditions lointaines sur les côtes d'Afrique inhospitalières, des entreprises à objectifs plus rapprochés, comme la pêche du corail sur le littoral de la Calle et des traités de commerce avantageux avec le Tunis et les Etats barbaresques. Au milieu du XVe siècle, ils reconnaîtront leur erreur, mais trop tard. En 1470 ils aideront les Maures à défendre Arzila, au sud de Tanger, assiégée par les Portugais; en 1447, bravant l'erg et les hammadas, les marchands gênois, par la voie des caravanes du Tafilet et du Touat, chercheront les marchés de la gomme, de l'encens, de l'ivoire et de l'or. Comme les Portugais, en 1445, commencent à explorer la Côte d'Or et l'arrière-pays soudanais, ils chercheront à leur barrer la route en atteignant Tombouctou, " le gros nombril " africain, d'où le Nil fourchu, selon les croyances de l'époque, jetait ses deux bras, l'un vers Damiette, l'autre vers les Canaries.

Délivrés des concurrents méditerranéens, les Portugais ont pu craindre que les Castellans leur enlevassent une avance qu'il leur serait impossible de rattraper. Le royaume de Castille, plus vaste et plus peuplé que le petit royaume de 90 lieues qui s'était formé à ses dépens sur la bordure côtière, considérait que l'Afrique était dans sa zone d'influence et sa sphère d'expansion. Par la construction d'une flotte homogène, il s'affirme comme devant être une des puissances navales de l'avenir: dès 1370 les galères castillanes dominaient nettement la marine anglaise et tiraient à elles, comme l'avoue amèrement Edouard III, la maîtrise d'une mer dont vingt ans auparavant il était le roi incontesté. A la fin du XIVe siècle, Andalous et Biscayens, écumeurs de mer, font des raids audacieux dans les îles africaines, pillent et rançonnent et ramènent à Séville, comme des trophées, le roi et la reine indigènes chargés de fer. Malgré les crises du XVe siècle, dans lesquelles les états ibériques cherchent à dégager leur existence malgré l'anarchie politique, les hermandades et les révolutions qui la paralysent, la Castille reste bien dans l'axe de ses destinées futures; lorsqu'en 1418, Jean II, si peu obéi dans son royaume, se fait aliéner l'archipel

canarien par les Normands Bethencourt et Gadiffer de la Salle, les premiers des conquistadors.

Disposant d'une position maritime avantageuse, séparés de la Castille par une barrière montagneuse et des plateaux arides et désolés, par suite plus à l'abri des querelles continentales, les rois portugais, surtout ceux de la dynastie d'Aviz qui arrive au trône en 1385, se sont appliqués à développer chez leurs sujets le goût des expéditions, même des fantaisies aventureuses. Leur effort a été long—car il a duré un siècle et il a été tenace, car ni les obstacles, ni les difficultés ne les ont rebutés. Il pouvait être téméraire et difficile de transformer en marins, commerçants et conquérants, des vigneronns ou des transhumants, de changer leurs goûts, leurs habitudes, leurs dispositions, de leur faire respirer les parfums de l'exotisme en substituant aux chais de vin de grenache des factoreries soudanaises. Le résultat fut acquis par une éducation imposée, mais qui, comme toute médaille, a son revers. Car on ne change pas impunément la personnalité d'un peuple en lui donnant une autre forme et une autre couleur. L'enthousiasme a été si profond, la passion d'acquérir si intense, le mouvement d'émigration si ample qu'en 1475, comme nous l'apprend une charte adressée à la ville de Pinhel, le roi Joao II distribuait les terres incultes (*sesmarias*) à ceux qui voulaient les mettre en valeur. Car les propriétaires désertaient les champs et on était sur le point de ne plus avoir de vignes. L'histoire du Portugal est celle d'une petite nation qu'un élan magnifique soulève et qu'un effort colossal anémie. Son évolution passe par trois phases successives: elle se cherche, elle se trouve, elle se perd.

Le Portugal s'est cherché pendant le XIV^e siècle. Il s'est trouvé au début du XV^e siècle. L'infant Don Henri, fils du roi Joao I^{er}, y a fortement contribué. L'histoire traditionnelle, une légende, au dire de certains peut-être trop complaisante, a synthétisé autour de son nom, Henri le Navigateur, les prodromes des découvertes. Sitôt qu'il eut conquis Ceuta en 1415, il donna l'impulsion, profitant de cette base maritime pour repérer le gisement des côtes, reconnaître les îles au large de l'Afrique et pénétrer dans le continent. Des considérations réalistes primaient un souci d'évangélisation. Il avait appris par les Maures qui s'y rendaient avec leurs caravanes, l'existence de villes accueillantes, telles que Dienné, capitale des Soninké, ou Mali, capitale du royaume Mandingue, dont les voyageurs arabes, comme Ibn Botoutah, vantaient les merveilles, où la poudre d'or s'échangeait contre le cuivre étincelant, dont les mosquées de Tombouctou et de Gao avaient été construites par les musulmans d'Espagne. Mais le désert de sable, comme une cloison hermétique, rendait impossible la pénétration saharienne. Les côtes de l'Adraz étaient aussi inhospitalières que l'intérieur. La circumnavigation vers le sud s'imposait. En 1429, Gil Eanes double le Cap Bojador; Nuno Tristan, en 1441, le Cap Blanc; João Fernandez, en 1445, le Cap Vert. C'était, comme son nom l'indique, après l'erg désolé, la verdure riante qui fait reprendre à la vie. C'étaient les nègres idolâtres, plus aisés à asservir que les maîtres du Sahara, ces Touaregs, cavaliers de fière allure, mais fantastiques, dont les marchands génois avaient vu le visage se dérober derrière un voile impénétrable. L'épopée héroïque était terminée. L'épopée méthodique commençait. Le Vénitien Cà da Mosto, au service du prince Henri, relatait son voyage en 1456 à la côte occidentale d'Afrique et le roi du Portugal Alphonse chargeait le chroniqueur Azurara d'écrire la conquête de la Guinée.

Sous Jean II qui succéda à son père Alphonse en 1481, il y eut vraiment une politique colonisatrice. Pour marquer la prise de possession, les navigateurs portugais devaient ériger des colonnes de pierre, des padrons

aux armes du Portugal sculptés d'avance. Des comptoirs s'ouvrent, des mines sont mises en exploitation, des factoreries créées, des missions religieuses organisées. Les produits de l'Afrique affluent sur le marché de Lisbonne et la faune équatoriale, lions, crocodiles, autruches et tortues, peuple les ménageries et les museums des collectionneurs, épris d'exotisme. Les cours d'Europe sont intriguées et Louis XI lui-même s'inquiète, quoiqu'il n'entendit pas, comme dit Commynes, "le fait de la mer". En 1483, il envoie deux navires, une allège et 300 hommes, sous prétexte de chercher un remède pour sa santé chancelante, vers cette "Ile Verte" qui miroite devant ses yeux prêts à se fermer. Mais le mystère—sauvegarde indispensable des intérêts commerciaux—est bien gardé. Les Portugais interdiront désormais de reproduire sur les cartes nautiques les dessins des terres nouvelles, comme plus tard ils puniront de mort ceux qui révéleront la route de Calicut.

L'énigme resta d'autant plus ténébreuse que les Portugais se trouvaient aux prises, dès qu'ils eurent franchi l'équateur, avec des difficultés nautiques insoupçonnées, qui ralentiront leur essor. Jusque-là, avec la boussole et l'astrolabe, ils s'étaient dirigés en observant les constellations et l'hémisphère boréal. Mais lorsque l'étoile polaire cessa d'être visible, leurs instruments et leurs tables astronomiques étaient inutilisables. Il fallut chercher des procédés nouveaux: la collaboration des savants était indispensable. Le roi du Portugal fit appel aux bonnes volontés et aux compétences. En 1459, ses ambassadeurs venus en Italie pour assister au Concile de Mantoue, réuni par Pie II, eurent des entretiens avec le célèbre mathématicien Paolo Toscanelli, celui-là même qui, quelques années plus tard, en 1474, fut l'initiateur et l'inspirateur de Christophe Colomb, en émettant cette théorie que, la terre étant ronde, on devait atteindre, en naviguant vers l'ouest, les Indes et la Chine. En 1484, vint s'établir au Portugal l'Allemand Martin Behaim qui fit un voyage sur les côtes d'Afrique en 1485 et, sans doute, dans les Açores, découvertes en 1437 par Diègue de Séville et dont son beau-père était concessionnaire pour les îles de Fayal et de Pico. Il est possible que Behaim ait apporté à Lisbonne les instruments astronomiques, les Ephémérides et les Tables de Direction, publiées en 1474 par l'astronome de Nuremberg Regiomontan, dont il disait avoir été l'élève. Mais de pareils traités, basés sur de savants calculs, n'étaient pas à l'usage de marins ou de navigateurs scientifiquement peu expérimentés. Ce sont les hydrographes et les mathématiciens juifs, dont Joao II sut s'entourer, qui résolurent pratiquement le problème nouveau qui leur était posé. Le roi imita l'exemple de l'infant qui avait mandé à Sagres maître Jacques de Majorque, le juif des boussoles, et les meilleurs constructeurs de cartes, d'astrolabes et d'instruments nautiques. Il nomma une junta de trois membres, ses médecins israélites Rodrigue et José Vizinho et Behaim. Sur un de ses livres, Christophe Colomb a inscrit cette mention: "Le roi de Portugal envoya en Guinée, en 1485, maître Joseph, son médecin et son astrologue, pour savoir la hauteur du soleil dans toute la Guinée." En calculant la distance du soleil au pôle, en mesurant la déclinaison du soleil, Vizinho, aidé par un savant juif, Abraham Zacuto, qui enseignait l'astronomie à l'Université de Salamanque, fit à l'usage des marins des manuels pratiques, où les calculs étaient simplifiés, qui permettaient avec l'astrolabe et le quadrant, de déterminer chaque jour la déclinaison et l'emplacement du soleil. Grâce à ces tables, les pilotes portugais purent dès lors savoir à quelle latitude ils se trouvaient dans l'hémisphère austral. En 1485, Diogo Caô et da Costa, dont on a retrouvé les padrons signalés par Behaim dans son globe, atteignaient le cap Cross par 21°, 50 de latitude sud, après avoir remonté l'estuaire du Congo jusqu'à Matadi.

En 1487, Barthélemy Diaz contournait le cap des Courants, cette passe dangereuse où déferlait la mer farouche, mais qui était un présage de bonne espérance. Car dix ans après, formés dans cette école de pilotage dont le roi Manoel avait confié la direction à José Vizinho, instruits par Abraham Zacuto qui de Salamanque avait été appelé au Portugal en qualité d'astronome royal et dont les tables de déclinaison solaire, traduites d'hébreu en latin sous le titre d'almanach perpétuel, avaient été publiées à Leiria en 1496, Vasco de Gama et Coelho parvenaient à Mélinde dans l'est africain. Là un pilote arabe les conduisait dans l'Inde, à Calicut, où il y avait " toute épicerie, pierrerie et toutes les richesses du monde ". La route des Indes était ouverte et le drapeau aux armes du Portugal, chargé d'une sphère céleste, flotte désormais avec la devise " plus outre ". L'effort portugais couronné de succès sonnait le glas de la sérénissime république que Commynes appelait triomphante entre toutes. *Sic transit gloria mundi*. En 1500, Cabral fondait sur la côte de Malabar le premier comptoir et le poivre transporté par les caravelles valait à Lisbonne cinq fois moins cher qu'à Venise.

Sur le terrain politique, comme sur le terrain économique, le but était atteint. Rien ne montre mieux l'élargissement de l'horizon et l'étape parcourue en un quart de siècle que la suscription des actes royaux de la chancellerie portugaise. Le roi qui, en 1485, était seigneur de Ceuta, est maintenant " Roi de Portugal " et des " Algarves daquem et dalcem mar en Africa, senhor de Guina, da conquista, navogaccio e commercio da Ethiopia Arabia Persia e da India ". Sur l'emplacement de cet empire naissant, une mappemonde portugaise de 1500 nous représente un rajah assis sur un tapis, tenant dans la main gauche un sceptre d'or massif, l'index de la main droite tendu vers Lisbonne.

Enhardis par le succès du périple africain, les Portugais avaient vu plus grand encore. En 1472, vingt ans avant Christophe Colomb, ils préparaient de concert avec le Danemark, une expédition pour atteindre, par l'ouest, la Chine et les Indes. Et en 1485 le roi Christiern envoyait deux nefes à Lisbonne pour fournir des renseignements sur le Groënland, base maritime, et les régions arctiques. Mais ce projet grandiose, repris plus tard par Gaspard Corte Real, ne fut pas mis à exécution avec toute la célérité que les circonstances exigeaient. Car l'Espagne, désormais unifiée, dirigée par des souverains perspicaces, qui n'avaient à cœur que de grandes choses, entraît à son tour en scène. Repoussé par le Portugal, accueilli par Ferdinand d'Aragon et Isabelle de Castille, Christophe Colomb, ex-voyageur de commerce de la maison Centurions de Gênes, fit la fortune des armateurs et des galions espagnols. La ruée vers l'or était si grande qu'on vit les conquistadors arracher aux indigènes leurs bijoux, prospecter le sable des fleuves et laver les terres.

Ainsi, par l'impérieuse nécessité de besoins économiques, grâce aux progrès de la science nautique et de l'esprit scientifique, grâce à l'initiative gênoise et à l'effort portugais, la fin du XVe siècle marque l'éclosion de deux puissances coloniales, les premières du monde moderne, de deux impérialismes rivaux, exclusivistes et fermés. L'océan dompté fera désormais la grandeur des peuples, unis, d'un même élan, dans la convoitise. A l'est s'ouvrent l'Inde et la Chine, depuis si longtemps fermées. A l'ouest surgit un continent insoupçonné, baptisé aussitôt d'un nom retentissant " Le Nouveau-Monde ". Comme le disait en 1494, dans sa harangue à Ferdinand le Catholique, l'envoyé de l'empereur Maximilien, Jérôme Münzer: " Nous avons accouru à Madrid et à Lisbonne, comme jadis les Mages, pour saluer dans les " Espagnes " l'étoile annonciatrice que Dieu a fait briller sur vos Empires naissants."

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF CANADA

By WALTER N. SAGE

The Canadian Historical Association is now a member of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and as such has greatly increased its sphere of influence and activity. The sub-committee or commission on the teaching of history of the International Committee has asked for a report on the teaching of history in the elementary schools of Canada to be followed later by a report on the teaching of history in the secondary schools. Since Canada has no national system of education and each province controls its educational policies it was thought best that the question of the teaching of history in Canadian schools should be discussed at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association at Montreal before any reports were sent in from Canada to the commission on the teaching of history of the International Committee.

So far twenty reports on the teaching of history have been sent in to the commission and twenty countries have not replied. M. Capra, Inspector-General of Public Instruction in France has issued a summary of the first sixteen of these national reports setting forth in detail the content of the history courses and the aims and "spirit" of the instruction provided in these courses. As a rule national history is taught in the lower grades and general history is introduced later. In some countries, e.g., Brazil and the tiny principality of Lichtenstein little attention is given to general history, but in most cases much time is devoted in the higher grades to the history of other nations. In Holland the history of civilization is stressed and in most of the European countries the activities of the League of Nations are emphasized. As might be expected the teaching of history in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Russia) prominence is given to Marxism and the class war.

Unfortunately no reports have yet been received from Great Britain and the Dominions, including, of course, the Irish Free State. The correspondent from the United States of America has submitted a brief statement of seven type-written pages setting forth the methods and procedures and the aims or objectives of history teaching in the Great Republic. He points out the great differentiation in the teaching of history in the various states and localities but states that "No school confines its instruction to American history" and that "every school provides some instruction in the European background of American history" and "some schools teach more European and world history than American history".

In dealing with the teaching of history in the elementary schools of Canada it is well first to recall the obvious facts:—

- (1) That under section 93 of the British North America Act education is a provincial matter.
- (2) That each province has worked out its own system to meet local needs.
- (3) That in Quebec there are two systems of education suited to the confessional requirements of the population.
- (4) That "separate schools" exist in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

(5) That aid from the Dominion Government is given to agricultural and technical education.

(6) That British Columbia has inaugurated a system of Junior High Schools.

Information regarding the courses of study, the aims, objectives and methods in history has been obtained from the printed curricula issued by the various provincial departments of education, by the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec, and by the Protestant schools of that province. No attempt is here made to go behind these printed statements although it is to be suspected that in some provinces at least the course of study outlined is, to quote an experienced teacher, "away ahead of practical usage". This is especially the case where text-book teaching is to be discarded and "laboratory methods" are to be employed. School boards are very slow in building up school libraries, and one reference book among forty pupils does not tend to develop "modern methods". It leads inevitably to oral teaching and the dictation of notes which are to be learned by heart. In the western provinces, especially in Alberta and British Columbia, modern psychological methods learned in post-graduate, and sometimes undergraduate, courses in American universities are being introduced into the schools. History is regarded as a branch of Social Studies in the Junior and Senior High Schools of British Columbia and of the course in citizenship in the elementary schools of Alberta.

It will be well to outline the curricula in history of the various provinces from east to west. Details of the courses not given in this paper will be found in the announcements issued by the respective Education Departments.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

History is first taught in Grade III and is continued to Grade VIII of the elementary schools. In grade III stories are told of the explorers of North America and of Canada and of certain of the great men and legendary heroes of history. The latter list is rather peculiar and runs thus "Caesar, Arthur, Augustine, Alfred, Canute, William the Conqueror, Laura Secord, Madeleine de Verchères, etc." These stories are continued in Grade IV and some elementary civics is taught. In grade V, the requirements are British History to 1154; Canadian History to 1663 and some more civics. This course is continued in Grades VI, VII and VIII and in this way all Canadian history, British and Canadian civics is supposed to be covered. There is no statement of the aims and objectives of teaching.

The course in this province seems to be quite traditional and conservative. This conviction is strengthened by a perusal of the history paper set in the matriculation examination for entrance to Prince of Wales College and Provincial Normal School.

NOVA SCOTIA

Geography and history are combined in Grades IV and V; history alone is taught in Grade VI, and history and civics in Grades VII and VIII. Teaching is oral in Grades IV and V, in Grade VI the Text-books in Canadian and British history are to be on the teacher's desk and one text-book entitled the "*History and Geography of Nova Scotia*" is to be in the pupils' hands. In Grades VII and VIII text-books are used. Starting from local geography the pupil in Grades IV and V is taught the geography of Nova Scotia, Canada, The British Isles, the United States

and the "outer world." There are stories of explorers, heroes and early settlers in Grade IV and an account of the leading events of Nova Scotia history in Grade V. In Grade VI the study of history begins in earnest with lives of great Canadians, the chief migration to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada; French, English, German, Scottish, Loyalist. The story of the American colonies and the American Revolution and of France and her colonies is included in the requirements for this grade as are also the story of England to Cromwell's time and rudimentary notions of obedience to authority." Nova Scotia history is stressed in this grade. The course in Grades VII and VIII carries the story of Canada from 1713 to the present day and British history from Cromwell up to the present. There is reference in Grade VII to "ancient peoples and Bible lands." Civics is stressed in these grades.

This curriculum contains diverse elements and it must tax the ingenuity of the teachers especially in Grades VII and VIII to present it as a coherent whole to their pupils. But it is evident from the *Journal of Education* published by the Education Department of Nova Scotia that an attempt is being made to keep the teachers of that province abreast of the latest developments in educational theory and practice. The question of school libraries is discussed and a central library has been established at the Education Office for the use of the school inspectors and the teachers in the public schools. The list of books in this library shows that Nova Scotia is endeavouring to keep up-to-date.

NEW BRUNSWICK

History teaching begins in Grade IV and continues until Grade VIII. In Grades IV and V history and geography are taught together. The emphasis in Grade IV seems to be on geography and in Grade V on history. In Grade IV stories are told of the early discoverers of America, of "persons famous in the early history of Canada and New Brunswick in particular," and of famous people in early British history. The life of the early settlers is described and local historical incidents are recounted. In Grade V the instruction is still oral. The teachers are to discuss with the aid of text-books or reference books, the leading events of British and Canadian history. Some elementary civics is taught in Grade V.

In Grade VI, VII and VIII text-books are used and courses are given in British and Canadian history, from the earliest times to the present day. Civics is included in Grades VII and VIII. Instruction in history in Grade VI is mainly oral but after that the pupils are expected to use the text-books.

There is no statement in the printed outlines regarding the aims and objects of history teaching but it is evident that the whole curriculum is along traditional lines. It must be admitted that the outlines suggest that modern methods are not being employed to any great extent.

QUEBEC

(a) *The Catholic Schools*.—In the Catholic primary elementary schools the history of Canada is commenced in the *inferior course*. In the first year the period is from Jacques Cartier to the foundation of Montreal and the Jesuit missions and in the second year from Dollard to the Fall of New France and the dispersion of the Acadians. Teaching is oral. In the *intermediate course* which follows instruction is oral during the first year and from the text-book in the second year. French Canadian history is

taught in more detail from Jacques Cartier to Confederation. In the first year of the *superior course* the French régime is again studied, in the second the British régime with special reference to the constitutional development of Canada.

The objects of the teaching of history are carefully set forth in the School Regulations. The following paragraph is typical:—

“The pupil of our schools should *learn* our History that he may speak of it with *pride*; he should love it, that he may, so far as in him lies, preserve and defend the inheritance received from his ancestors.”

As one reads through the requirements one is struck by the devotion of the framers of this program to their native land and its history. The story of French Canada is stressed, the exploits of Jacques Cartier are studied by the pupils no less than four times. In the inferior course there is no mention of the British régime. In the intermediate course the British régime is mentioned but there is little mention of Upper Canada. In the superior course the Canadian West is listed as a topic and the constitutional development of Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces is discussed.

There is no European history as such taught in this course, its place is taken by sacred history which is taught in connection with Catechism. The absence of British history from the curriculum for English speaking schools is rather noteworthy but there is a provision for the teaching of Irish history in Irish schools.

In the primary vocational schools Canadian history and church history are taught. These schools specialize in technical education but teach some “academic” subjects. The Canadian history course is the same as that given in the *superior course* in the primary elementary schools. The Church history course covers the period from the establishment of Christianity to the Great War.

These courses in the Catholic schools of Quebec have been carefully worked out in accordance with the religious, political and cultural traditions of French Canada.

(b) *The Protestant Schools.*—The Protestant schools of Quebec have a separate curriculum of which the courses taught in the high School of Montreal may be taken as typical. In this high school seven years are devoted to elementary and four to high school work. In the sixth year of the elementary course Canadian history is taught for one hour a week and in the seventh year for two hours a week. The course is very similar to those taught in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces.

ONTARIO

The course of study in the public and separate schools of Ontario is taken up in five forms, of which Form II may be completed in one year, but the others require two years. The Entrance examination for high schools comes at the end of Form IV. History is commenced in Form II and continued until the end of Form V.

In Form II stories from local history are taught also “stories of famous people, stories of child life in other lands, and Bible stories.” These stories are told by the teacher and reproduced orally by the pupils. In Form III instruction is still mainly oral and the pupils are given “stories of famous people and important events in British and Canadian history.” Stories of pioneer life in Ontario, stories associated with historical places

in the neighborhood and "elementary lessons in local municipal government and in the duties of citizenship" complete the requirements in this form. In Form IV text-books are used and the course for the junior grade comprises an outline of British history, current events, and the elements of the civil government of Ontario and the duties of citizenship. In the senior grade, Canadian history, current events, the elements of the civil government of Canada and the duties of citizenship are studied. The Entrance paper in history is set on the work of the senior grade.

Form V is the equivalent of the Lower School course, i.e., the first two years, in the high schools or collegiate institutes of Ontario. It, apparently, has taken the place of the "continuation classes" of a generation ago. The course in history is the same as that in the Lower School of the high school course and consists of a course in British history to 1920, including the geography relating to the history prescribed.

The aims and methods of history teaching are set forth in the Ontario announcement. The aim of instruction is "to interest the pupil in historical reading, to give him a knowledge of his civil rights and duties, to enable him to appreciate the logical sequence of events, and eventually to give him the power to interpret present conditions in the light of the past." The imperial note is struck in the following sentence. "The teacher should not fail to emphasize the extent, power and responsibilities of the British Empire, its contributions to the highest form of civilization, the achievements of its statesmen and its generals and the increasingly important place that Canada holds among the overseas Dominions."

MANITOBA

In the curriculum of studies for Grades I-VI of the Manitoba schools history is classed as part of Social Education. The child is to be initiated into the group and is to be trained to play his part in life of the community. In Grades I, II and III the spirit of co-operation and good will is to be fostered. Instruction in history begins in Grade IV under the three following heads: "the story of the district; the story of some primitive peoples; the story of changes in living." An outline of the history of Winnipeg is given as a model for the first section, in the second section the pupils read books from the school library "in their spare moments," and the teacher talks to the children about "changes in agriculture, in lighting, in manufacture, in houses, in schools, in modes of travel, etc." In Grade V the topics for discussion are the story of early days in Canada and the explorers of the West. The supplementary reading in this grade deals with world history. The regular subjects in Grade VI are the story of Canada and the government of Canada. Supplementary reading is based on stories from English history including historical novels. In the Canadian history course "social and industrial history should be emphasized and not too much attention devoted to constitutional changes and the controversy over these." The course on the Government of Canada is very inclusive and deals with federal, provincial and municipal institutions, and the duties of citizenship.

The course for Grade VII is British History and the syllabus for this grade is comprehensive and covers the whole of British development from the dawn of civilization in early Britain to the modern British Commonwealth of Nations. It is a very full outline and one wonders how the average teacher can cover it in one year. In Grade VIII the subjects for study are Canadian history and civics. The development of Canada from the

earliest times to the present is studied in a recently published text-book entitled "The Story of Canada." The teacher is expected to make use of McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship*.

The Manitoba curriculum is still being revised but when completed should be one of the most up-to-date in Canada. The objects of history teaching are clearly defined, history is closely connected with social studies and is treated in its broadest aspects. The interest of the pupil is gained by the stress on local history in Grade IV, but he is not allowed to be narrow in his point of view. World history is stressed from the commencement of the course and Canadian history does not stop at the Great Lakes.

SASKATCHEWAN

Instruction in history and civics begins in Grade IV with "stories the early discoverers and explorers in America," followed by "short sketches of persons famous in the early history of Canada" and "stories of people famous in early British history." Some elementary civics is also taught in this grade. In Grade V the topics in history are "the early explorers of the North-West and what each accomplished," "stories of pioneer life in Canada and in the North-West more particularly," and "stories of outstanding events in Canadian and British history." The training in civics takes the form of "elementary lessons in local municipal government and the duties of citizenship." The Grade VI course deals with the following topics: important events in the history of Canada to the end of the French period; the story of the Selkirk Settlers, the Red River Rebellion, 1870; the Royal North-West Mounted Police, the Saskatchewan Rebellion, 1885; outlines of English history prior to the Tudor period; current events and "talks upon our system of provincial government." In Grade VII the topics are: "main facts in the history of Canada from the fall of Quebec to the Union of the two Canadas"; "important events in the history of England; current events and "talks upon federal system of government and the relation of the Provinces to the Dominion." The course in Grade VIII completes the history of Canada from the Act of Union to the present time including the "rivalry of the British and Americans on the Pacific coast" and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It includes also British history since the accession of the House of Hanover, current events and "the system of government in Canada with emphasis on provincial affairs."

The aims and objectives of history teaching are set forth. The teacher is warned against making history "a mere exercise of memory," "a mass of useless and unrelated facts." "History is a continuous narrative of events closely linked together, and efforts should be made to give the pupils vivid impressions of the conditions of living and the customs held in other ages." The study of history is held to be "a valuable instrument for moral training in the school."

No text-books are listed but many reference works are suggested. The inference is that reference books in fairly large numbers are to be provided for school libraries.

The Department of Education in Regina reports that the courses in history and civics will shortly be revised. The new curriculum is awaited with interest.

ALBERTA

In Alberta history is taught as part of the course in citizenship. In Grades I and II the training is chiefly by "direct experience." The child

is taught to respect school property, to be punctual, neat and clean, to avoid waste and to do his part as a member of a group. History talks on "the story of Alberta and its inhabitants before the period of active settlement" are given in Grade IV. In Grade V the general topic in history is "Romance and Adventure in the Settlement of the Old North West." The formal teaching of history begins in Grade VI and the course deals with "the different organizations through which our ancestors passed before modern times," e.g., English manorial life, feudalism robber bands, Scottish clans, Parliament and merchant adventurers. It is pointed out that Grade VI pupils are at an age when organization appeals to them and so organizations are stressed in their grade. The course is chiefly on British history from Saxon times to the Tudor Period (inclusive), but also includes explorations of eastern and western North America and civics.

Text-books are just placed in the pupils' hands in Grade VII and the course is based on the prescribed texts. The subjects for study are: Feudal England, Tudor England, Stuart England, Age of discovery and colonization, Exploration in America, the French Period in Canada, Early British Period, later Immigration and Settlement and in Civics "Social relationships based on 'making a living'". In Grade VIII the work in the text-books in British and Canadian history and civics is completed. In British history the story of the Motherland and the Empire is traced to the present day. In Canada the achievement of responsible government is studied, followed by the struggle for national unity, the relations between Canada and the United States and Canada's part in the Great War. The course in citizenship which was commenced in Grade I and has been continued throughout the grades is brought to a conclusion in Grade VIII by the comprehensive review of the forms of municipal, provincial and federal government.

The course of studies in Alberta has recently been revised and modern methods and ideas are prominent in the work of the early grades. But in Grades VII and VIII the shadow of the departmental Entrance examination is lengthening and instruction is based upon text-books. One feels that the spontaneity of the course is gone.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

In British Columbia two systems are at present in operation, the "old" and the "new." The "old" has been to the present based on eight grades in the elementary and three for the high School with the Junior Matriculation examination at the end of Grade XI. The "new" is based on six grades in the elementary school, three in the Junior High School and three in the Senior High School. Ultimately matriculation will probably be at the end of the twelfth grade, but the new system is not yet worked out in detail. In urban schools the Junior High School movement is making great progress but in all probability the "old" system in its revised form of eight years in elementary and four years in high schools will remain in the rural schools.*

History is first taught in Grade V, although some teachers wish to have instruction commenced in Grade IV. The course is divided into two parts "talks on the early history of British Columbia" and "discoverers and explorers of America." Instruction is oral and although the "laboratory method" is urged in the Program of Studies, it cannot be put into operation in many schools on account of the limited library facilities.

* Since the above was written a *New Program of Studies for the High and Technical Schools of British Columbia* has appeared providing for a four year high school course.

The course in Grade VI is in British history from its origins to the end of the medieval period and in citizenship, local and municipal institutions. In Grade VII text-books are introduced in British and Canadian history. The subject matter in this grade is British history from William the Conqueror to Elizabeth, the French Period in Canada and in citizenship, "organization for provincial purposes." The Grade VIII course is divided into four sections: the history of Canada with special attention to the British period, the history of British Columbia, the Stuart and Hanoverian periods of British history and citizenship, organization for federal purposes.

In the Junior High School the course in history is part of the curriculum in social studies. In Grade VII in the first term the major topic is the development of the Americas 1492-1763; in the second term the development of Canada, 1763-1873. In Grade VIII the first term is devoted to the development of Canada from 1873 to the present and the second term to the growth of the British Empire. The course for Grade IX, which has not yet been fully elaborated, deals with the following topics; "Inter-Empire and world relations of the Empire", "community problems", and "a study of vocations and vocational opportunities in the community and the province". There is at present some overlapping in Grade IX which is also the first grade of the old high school course.

The course in Junior High Schools is along progressive lines. It is not yet out of the experimental stage, but much solid work has already been accomplished.

We have now outlined the courses in history in all the Canadian provinces. The following conclusions may be drawn from the evidence set forth:—

1. There is no real uniformity in the teaching of history, in its content, aims or objects, in the different provinces of Canada.
2. There is as yet no national view of Canadian history in the sense that in each province the same topics are prescribed and instruction is provided on similar lines.
3. The Catholic schools of Quebec have definite objectives which seem to be attained, but the point of view appears to be rather limited and does not extend "from sea to sea."
4. The eastern provinces, on the whole, pay little attention to the development of Western Canada. The western provinces pay considerable attention to the history of "Old Canada" and the Maritime Provinces.
5. British and Canadian history are taught by periods and not "comprehensively". Exceptions to this rule are numerous, especially in Manitoba and the Junior High Schools of British Columbia.
6. General history, including ancient history and medieval and modern European history is not taught to any great extent.
7. There is little attempt to place the local, provincial and national history of Canada in its British Empire and world settings.
8. More attention might be paid to Canada's position in the British Empire and the world in general.

Finally it is submitted that the Canadian Historical Association might consider the following problems:—

1. The definition of the aims and objects of history teaching in Canada.
2. The correlation of the courses in history, and especially Canadian history, taught in the schools of the various provinces.
3. The evolution of a national point of view in Canadian history.

4. Closer co-operation between writers of history teachers of history; also between university professors and teachers in normal, high, and elementary schools.

5. The appointment of a commission on the teaching of history to consider the aims, methods and content of history courses.

The American Historical Association has taken the lead in furthering the study of history in the schools of the United States. The Canadian Historical Association has a golden opportunity presented to it. Will it take advantage thereof?

THE ORIGINS OF DEMOCRACY IN CANADA

By A. R. M. LOWER

The history of a country seems to consist in a complex of social loyalties and individual interests projected against a background of environment. The three factors compose, to borrow a mathematical term, a triangle of forces and the historian's task lies in solving the equations representing it.

In this country, as in every other, social groupings have from the beginning had an important place. As a rule they have had their political reflections, taking their place as important elements in the party system. As time has passed they have undergone interesting evolutions, usually in the direction of increasing adaptation to the conditions of the new country. In the early days, people naturally found themselves bound together by sentiments and prejudices that had their origin elsewhere than on Canadian soil. While these early bonds of society are not all dead, many of them are dying and their place is being taken by loyalties more nearly indigenous. But even to-day, the country is a sort of museum of all the movements and passions, imported or native, which have swept over it in the past.

An apt illustration of the thesis is afforded by the Orange Order in Canada. Before the large Irish immigration of the 'twenties and 'thirties of the last century, nothing was more remarkable than that amid the unceasing political and racial strife of the English and French, there should have been rarely broken religious peace. When the Irish, Protestant and Catholic, came they brought with them the loves and hates of their own country and ever since, religion has taken its place along with race as one of the elements of discord and of political strife in this country. As time has gone on, the first fine frenzies of the devotees of either faith have subsided. Twelfth of July celebration is no longer, as a rule, the occasion of a pitched battle. Even for Orangeism, a second transplantation has been rather too much and consequently in the newer parts of the country it does not flourish as it does in Ontario. The old loyalty has been sloughed off, apparently not adapted to local conditions, but a new one, the Klu Klux Klan, another alien importation but one more directly related to the problems of the day, has taken its place.

It is difficult to disentangle the elements of sentiment and emotion in an individual's social alignment from the element of reason, but the confusion between the two accounts for most of the inconsistencies in men's political behavior. Politics in Canada of all countries will never be understood until the conscious motive is separated from the unconscious. A right assessment of the two would give a very clear image of Canadian development. In such an assessment a balance would have to be struck with the second force in the triangle, self-interest, hydra-headed in the variety of its expression but too often completely anti-social.

The third factor, the physical back-ground, has not as yet been intensively studied by the Canadian historian but the triangle cannot be solved until such a study has been undertaken. Certain of its more immediate effects are sufficiently obvious. Thus the political situations arising out of our limited soil-base and consequent small population, the remoteness of one habitable section from another, the climatic difficulties con-

fronting labour, navigation and internal communication, are sufficiently patent. The more remote and intangible effects have not yet been rendered patent.

The historical deductions from geography have been worked out in some detail for the United States by American historians of the school of F. J. Turner and they have shown very well how the frontier has conditioned the whole social setting, manner of thought and political reactions of the people of their nation. Turner's thesis has not yet been thoroughly applied to Canadian history and, indeed, there are factors present in the development of each country which are inconspicuous or absent in that of the other. It must therefore be a modified or adapted version of the thesis which can be fitted to Canada.¹

Probably the most striking and important aspect of the thesis is that one which dwells on the connection between the frontier and democracy. There can be little question but that American democracy had a forest birth and there also can be little doubt of the validity of the larger thesis that the frontier environment, or life lived on the margins of civilization, tends to bring about an equality of which the political expression is democracy. But it may be doubted whether social equality could work out into political democracy unless the society possessing it had not possessed certain theoretical positions as to its nature before it was projected into its frontier surroundings. The French Canadian and the American before 1763 both were faced with the same frontier conditions and within limits both made the same response to them. Both had much social equality, much rude good comradeship, the virtues of pioneer hospitality, adaptiveness and initiative in meeting the demands of forest life. Both were restive under control, making good scouts but poor regulars. There was infinitely more independence and assertiveness in French Canada, infinitely less readiness to do the will of a superior, than in old France;² but it may be safely assumed that once the conditions which made for this independence had passed, the age-old controls of French life, the clergy and the nobility, and the pressure of authority which was in the very air of the *ancien régime* would have made themselves felt³ and the independent Canadian would have had to bow the knee in the same manner as his ancestors.

Not so the American. He had all the independence of the *coureur de bois* and something more: he had behind him the consciousness that he was a free man, that his ancestors had been free men and that his whole society stood for the rights and privileges of the individuals. Thus when pioneer conditions had passed, the attitude toward life which they had induced remained as a conscious philosophy or creed, something to be fought for. It is only with the fading of the memory of the frontier and the elevation of descendants of frontiersmen into a sort of aristocracy, at least a plutocracy, over an immigrant and alien bottom layer, that the old framework of American society tends to loosen. It has not loosened much yet but it

¹ There have been two articles in recent reports of the Canadian Historical Association dealing with the frontier in Canadian history, one by Professor W. N. Sage, *Some Aspects of the Frontier in Canadian History*, one by J. L. McDougall, *The Frontier School and Canadian History*. Both of these are mainly concerned with the physical parallels between the two countries in their frontier development.

² Note how quickly seigniorial control disappeared after 1763. In 1775, Carleton found authority both of church, seigneur and government, powerless to coerce the habitants. They had seized the opportunity which the English conquest afforded of throwing off the controls which had long been irksome to them. See on this subject Chester Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929, p. 179).

³ As in part they did after the Quebec Act had begun to make its pressure felt, a new set of controls, the clergy and popular tribunes, took the place of the old, and to this day, the French Canadian is much more amenable to discipline than is the English.

is doubtful if the political ideals of the original population, reinforced as they were by a most intense frontier experience, can be indefinitely passed on to a citizenry much of which has little of them in its heredity and much of which is slowly becoming a lower class.

In Canada, democracy has been even more of a condition and less of a theory that it has been in the United States. Our political ideas have been British, not American, and in British political idealism, democracy, until a recent date, had no place. In it freedom, it is true, had a large place, but a careful distinction must be made between the old English notion of freedom and the concept suggested by the word democracy. For three quarters of a century after the Loyalists came, lip-service was paid to freedom but "democracy" was discreditable, at least among the people who "mattered". It was something that caused French Revolutions or which was associated with the American tobacco chewers discovered by Martin Chuzzlewit. The whole weight of officialdom and its connections in British North America was thrown against it and only very slowly after the securing of responsible government was the disreputable personage admitted into the drawing-rooms of respectable society. Yet to-day it is the name that is above every name. Here is an interesting historical development which has not yet been traced out as completely as it might be.

The Loyalists brought with them to Canada a bitter experience of popular action. Haldimand said, perhaps truly enough, that they had had all they wanted of Assemblies. Their chief men were aristocrats. Yet in half a century their settlements were being agitated by cries for responsible government. In so far as they supported this agitation and in so far as it did not obtain its chief support from the later comers, the frontier had done its work.

But it is probably necessary to distinguish between responsible government and democratic government. So far as the writer knows, Baldwin, Papineau and Lafontaine were not enthusiasts for democracy. Mackenzie probably was and he more than any other prominent figure represents the frontier at that period. Yet in Canada, the frontier, that is, roughly, the country side as opposed to the little governmental and mercantile centres of power and influence, never scored the ringing victory of Andrew Jackson and his frontiersmen in the United States.

It is curious to reflect how little support Mackenzie received. Logically most of the province should have supported him, for most of the province must have been affected by the grievances for which the ruling class was responsible, the conditions obtaining as to land and land-grants, the Clergy Reserves, the Anglican attempts at an established church, the tyranny of the semi-official Bank of Upper Canada. Similar conditions in the United States, both before and after the Revolution, had caused serious outbreaks. Bacon's Rebellion, the Alemance fight, Shay's Rebellion, the Pennsylvania Whiskey Rebellion, are familiar examples. A similar inspiration, if not actual grievances, had been at the bottom of the triumph of the frontier in the elections of 1828. Yet here was Upper Canada and, to a lesser degree, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, suffering under more severe oppression than these others had been and to a remarkable extent taking it "lying down".⁴

The explanation is two-fold. The character of the population differed from that of the western states. The democratic spirit in its political expres-

⁴ Lower Canada cannot be included in the comparison, for although the same grievances were present and were powerfully at work, the element of race cuts across them all and it would be difficult to say how far the rebellion was racial and how far social and economic.

sion was a post-Revolutionary development in which the Loyalist migrants had not shared. Later immigrants were not completely emancipated from old world modes of life and thought. The pioneer in his day-to-day life manifested all the characteristics of his American brother⁵ except the fierce desire of the latter to control the political situation. Mackenzie, a pioneer only by courtesy, a pioneer born in Scotland and seeing the frontier from the windows of a York printing house, was not an Andrew Jackson. Again, the provincial unit was small and control in various forms was easily exerted.

Both of these factors come together and are nicely illustrated in the case of Egerton Ryerson and the Methodists. Methodism was essentially a religion of the frontier, a fact which accounts for its rapid spread through an originally non-Methodist population, and if they had been left to themselves, its adherents, many of them of Loyalist origin, would almost certainly have gravitated into the rebel camp. But it happened to have Ryerson at its head and he also was Loyalist but a Loyalist and Methodist of a more sophisticated type than the simple pioneer. Consequently, old sentiments and the old allegiance triumphed in his person and grievances or no grievances, Strachan or no Strachan, he retained the loyalty of frontiersmen and Methodists.

The events of the rebellion period are not particularly creditable to a proud people. It should logically have been a great popular movement against undoubted grievances. Instead of that, its inherited social alignments, from which much of the meaning had evaporated, took all the fire out of it.

Though, partially as a result of the rebellion, self-government came, democracy did not prevail and as late as 1867, Sir John Macdonald could vigorously and without condemnation champion a property suffrage. Property and privilege is written into the British North America Act to a much greater extent than it is written into the American constitution, itself a document far from democratic.

By 1867, the frontier of settlement in Canada had practically ceased its advance and pioneer spirits were trekking westward to the prairie states. In the Hudson Bay territories the energetic and unruly agitation of Dr. Schultz against vested interest was typifying the frontier spirit. There were also recurring in the west interesting repetitions of the democratic phenomena of many another frontier. One of the most illuminating of these was the so called republic of Assiniboia set up in the 'sixties by one Spence.⁶ Nothing of the sort seems ever to have occurred before on what is now Canadian soil but it is in the direct line of descent from the Mayflower Compact and the Watauga association. It is in the west too, that, more recently the phenomena associated with the frontier type of democracy have been most frequently in evidence. Undoubtedly influenced by similar legislation of the western states, Manitoba in 1916 attempted to set up a law for the initiative and referendum.⁷ The farmers of the west have displayed a hostility to the chartered banks, reminiscent in milder tones, of the outcry of the 'thirties against the Bank of the United States.

⁵ As for instance in the emotional nature of the religion he demanded. The Bay of Quinte Loyalists became Methodist within a few years after their arrival, and elsewhere in the country, the "old time religion" was hot, strong and violent in its displays, just as it was in the frontier districts of the United States. "Camp-meetings" sometimes came near to being veritable emotional orgies.

⁶ Joseph James Hargrave, *Red River*, Montreal, 1871, pp. 428 ff.

⁷ The statute was declared ultra vires of the Manitoba legislature by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. See W. B. Munro, *American Influences on Canadian Government*, Toronto, 1929, p. 95 n.

It is on the prairies that the most successful revolt against the old political parties has occurred.

Despite the continuance in the west down to the present of democratic phenomena such as the foregoing, the present democratic tone of our institutions cannot be looked upon as having been an inevitable political evolution. In 1867 there was no body of opinion in favour of democracy. In fact, as has been said, opinion was in the other direction. Yet to-day our governments are responsive to the slightest breath of the air of public opinion and sometimes in their efforts to anticipate it, move ahead of it. Providing it be vocal enough, there is no class in the community that cannot force government's hand. This would not have been true sixty years ago. The problem is to account for the change.

Democracy both as a theory and a condition made great headway in Great Britain after 1867 but it is impossible to believe that British political practice had any important influence on Canadian. There was no echo in Canada of John Bright's famous campaign preceding the Second Reform Bill and no echo of the bill itself. Our democratic evolution must have come from elsewhere.

Robert Gourlay in his day made excellent fun of the provision in the Constitutional Act for a hereditary nobility in Canada and pictured the Marquis of Erie as a petty lawyer in a small country town or the Duke of Ontario observed by some passer-by in the act of getting in his own hay.⁸ Descriptions exist of the unconventionality of the Canadian Legislatures of the early days and of the illiteracy (and worse) of their members.⁹ In the state of society reflected in matter such as these, surely lies the key to the problem. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear and you cannot make class distinction of any permanence in a country where there is not much wealth and where everybody has started in the race for its accumulation from approximately the same point and started very recently. In other words, society in a new country is almost necessarily equalitarian and democratic, and therefore sooner or later politics must become so. If they do not, it is because the long arm of an old polity is felt stretching out toward the new. France stretched out such an arm towards Canada before 1763 and kept the new country mildly feudal. But even in feudal New France, the seigneurs had little to distinguish them from the habitants except their pride and poverty. England stretched out such an arm after 1763 and for many years kept the institutions of the new country mildly aristocratic. But when self-government came, the regime of privilege rapidly evaporated in the sun of economic equality.

It need not necessarily have been so. In a small and isolated community, where opportunity was narrow, privilege might easily have maintained itself. Probably eastern Canada alone was large enough to have avoided this, certainly the Dominion as at present constituted is, but in any case the influence of the outside world would have prevented it. With our traditions of political freedom working in the modern world, we must have come out somewhere near the point at which we have in fact arrived. Moreover we lay close to a country in which during the nineteenth century democracy was, so to speak, being continuously re-manufactured, recreated anew with every belt of new country opened up. In the tone of society as in every other particular, we were influenced by the United States and there is no doubt that the march of democracy in the United

⁸ Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, Vol. II, p. 296.

⁹ See *inter alia* Sir Edmund Hornby's *Autobiography*, p. 62, as reviewed in *Canadian Historical Review*, Dec., 1929.

States influenced its march in Canada. The back-wash of western democracy forced political equality in all the eastern states and by the 'forties the last property qualifications and the last established church had disappeared from New England. Its effect on Canada must have been similar, for while the boundary tends to retard the spread of ideas northward it does not stop it. It may be concluded that our own pioneering era plus the influence of American pioneer life brought about political democracy in Canada.

There were minor factors, of course. Thus in the session of 1885, Sir John Macdonald alleged as one of the reasons for his attempt to put the control of the suffrage into the hands of the Dominion Parliament, that certain provinces were widening the franchise for the simple purpose of giving votes to persons who would vote against the Tories.¹⁰ Again, party government tends to an ever widening franchise because one party bids against the other for the favour of the electorate. This remark would apply with some force to the English Second Reform Bill.

Despite American influence, there are observable differences between our democracy and that of the United States. We have never erected democracy into a creed in Canada and consequently we endure without even feeling their inconsistency, let alone injustice, such undemocratic remainders as the property suffrage in municipal politics and property qualifications for the Senate. We endure or did endure until recently, distinctions of rank that have never been tolerated in the United States. We like to think that our democracy does not shout as loud as does that of America. These differences, for the most part small, probably proceed from three causes. The first is that our frontier experience, owing to differences in habitable area, has not been as intense and prolonged as has that of the United States. We have not all been ground up quite as fine by it as the Americans. Sir John Beverley Robinson was able to keep his coach and four and to pose as grand seigneur in "Muddy York" but it is unlikely that he could have done so in contemporary Cincinnati. The second cause is that old world sentiment has been much stronger in Canada and the old world connection much more recent than in the United States. And the third lies in our monarchical form of government; in the old days we were governed and we have never quite got accustomed to governing ourselves. Government to many of us still seems a thing apart, not quite our own concern. The perpetuation of monarchical forms, even though the life has long since gone out of them, doubtless tends to act as a curb to the fullest expression of democracy. At any rate, the differences just mentioned between our democracy and that of the United States consist in a general way in this, that democracy in Canada has not had quite as thorough-going an expression as it has had amongst our neighbours.

¹⁰ See *Canada and its Provinces*, Vol. VI.

PRESIDENT POLK AND THE CANADIAN FRONTIER

By F. H. SOWARD

The "Roaring Forties" well deserved their name. During that decade the American people reached out greedy hands towards Oregon, Texas and California, pleading all the while like true Anglo-Saxons the call of "Manifest Destiny." A steady stream of people moved into Southern Michigan and Wisconsin, on to "Ioway, Ioway, that's where the tall grass grows," and by covered waggon into Oregon or across the Great American Desert to Utah and California. As the native American answered the call of the West the European heard the call of free Republic across the sea. In ten years 1,500,000 immigrants entered the United States, thrice as many as in the previous decade. Of these 49 per cent were Irish.¹ The country was humming with activity and offered to the common man a better lot than anywhere else in the world. Proud of their success in having made republicanism and democracy workable over a larger area than at any other time in history, certain of their indefinite advance, it is little wonder that the Americans of the Roaring Forties were "full of bounce and bluster, contemptuous of old-world monarchies."² The spirit which inspired Daniel Webster to inform the proud Hapsburg Monarchy in one of the most undiplomatic notes in history that "the power of this Republic at the present moment is spread over a region, one of the richest and most fertile in the world and of an extent in comparison with which the possessions of the House of Hapsburg are but as a patch on the earth's surface" was exactly the same which impelled the voter of 1844 to cheer the "pure Yankee bluster"³ of "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight."

In view of the numerous unsolved problems which disturbed the United States and Great Britain at the opening of this decade and the sentiments just described, it is not surprising that Anglo-American relations were for a time more critical than at any time since the war of 1812. This paper is an attempt to describe the political background of one episode, the Oregon settlement which caused the greatest tension during this decade.

Historians are now generally agreed that the claims of both the United States and Great Britain to all of the Oregon area under dispute, i.e., the land lying between 42° and 45° 40', were extravagant and unsound. Dr. Keenleyside, the most recent student of the subject, has summed up the evidence in his verdict "Neither nation had a perfect or even a strong case."⁴ In fact between 1818 and 1844 each side put forth a compromise claim to the territory which left in dispute only a small section between the Columbia river and the Forty-Ninth parallel, the central and western third of the present state of Washington.⁵

¹ Statistical abstract of the United States (1915), p. 90. Quoted in Morison, *Oxford History of the United States* (London, 1927), Vol. I, p. 424.

² Morison *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 415.

³ Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (New York, 1909), p. 137.

⁴ Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States* (New York, 1929), p. 205.

⁵ Merk "The Oregon Pioneers and the Boundary," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIX, p. 681

The British Government was willing to extend the Forty-ninth Parallel beyond the Rockies but from the point where it touched the Columbia river wished that river to be the dividing line. This insistence upon the Columbia was based upon the conviction that the Columbia was as vital to the welfare of British possessions in the North West as the St. Lawrence river was in the East⁶ and was buttressed by the eagerness of the Hudson's Bay Company to retain the fur posts along its banks.⁷

For its part the American government insisted upon the Forty-Ninth parallel being the boundary to the ocean in order to give it a firm hold upon the Puget Sound waters and surrounding country. Yet, believing that Time was its best ally, the United States were prepared to accept joint occupation until settlers had made the question of more immediate importance. Hence the Conventions of 1818 and 1827. By the close of the Thirties Oregon was commencing to become an object of interest to the people of the old North West and their Congressmen raised the question at Washington in 1838 and 1842. The migration of settlers after 1840 intensified the feeling and was partly responsible for Lord Ashburton not attempting to settle the matter.⁸ In July of 1843 an Oregon convention was held in Cincinnati which was attended by ninety-six delegates from states of the upper Mississippi Valley. At this gathering a resolution was passed demanding the whole of the territory up to 54° 40'.⁹ The agitation found its echo in Washington and in the Senate a motion was presented calling for the termination of joint occupation. After several days of debate it was defeated by 28 to 18, the Senators from the South and some of the Eastern states being generally opposed.¹⁰

The growing dissatisfaction with the status quo did not pass unnoticed in London. Early in 1844 the new British Minister, Richard Pakenham, arrived in Washington empowered to carry on negotiations with a view to reaching a settlement. His official instructions repeated the old formula but in a private letter to him dated March 4, 1844 Lord Aberdeen suggested a solution which anticipated that reached in 1846. "You are to endeavour without committing yourself or your gov't to draw from the negotiator a proposal to make the 49th degree of latitude the boundary with which the proviso that the ports to the south of that parallel to the Columbia inclusive, shall be free ports to Gt. Britain."¹¹

Sir Robert Peel disliked this proposal as being unnecessarily generous, since no American settlers lived north of the Columbia River, so it was never officially advanced. The best that Pakenham could do was to offer on two occasions to submit the question to arbitration.¹² These offers President Tyler and Secretary of State Calhoun refused in the belief that the "true policy" was "to do nothing to excite attention and to leave time to operate."¹³

In the meanwhile the question had become a political issue in the campaign of 1844. The Democrat party which had been defeated in 1840

⁶ As late as January, 1846, the London Times expressed this opinion.

⁷ Cf. the remarks of Sir George Simpson in 1826, quoted in Merk, *op. cit.*, and his correspondence in Shafer "Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-43," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIV.

⁸ Cf. his remark to Lord Aberdeen, "the public are at present busy with this subject and bitter in temper." Quoted in Mowat, *The Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States* (London, 1925), p. 132.

⁹ Shafer, *History of the Pacific North West* (New York, 1918) p. 177.

¹⁰ Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1883) Vol. 2, p. 625.

¹¹ Quoted in Shafer "The British Attitude towards the Oregon Question," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, p. 296.

¹² Merk, *op. cit.* p. 695.

¹³ Quoted in McCormac, James K. Polk (Berkeley, 1922), p. 562.

after twelve years in office was eager to regain the spoils of victory and had good reason for believing it might return to office in view of the Whig defeat at the mid-term elections. The chief issue of the campaign seemed likely to be the annexation of Texas, which was ardently desired by the South and West and opposed by anti-slavery elements in the East, convinced that the South were after bigger pens to cram slaves in and that it would upset the balance. It was clear that Henry Clay would be the Whig nominee while the Democrats were generally expected to rally around ex-President Van Buren, Jackson's favourite lieutenant, who had gone down to defeat when seeking re-election in 1840. On the eve of the Democrat convention both Van Buren and his rival were drawn into declaring their opposition to the annexation of Texas. This staggered the Democrats who knew that only willingness to annex Texas would capture Southern votes. Andrew Jackson at once repudiated the declaration of his disciple but more in sorrow than in anger. The other chief aspirant for the Democratic nomination, Lewis Cass of Michigan was willing to annex Texas but the rivalry between Cass and Van Buren was so intense that it was feared his nomination would split the party. At the convention Van Buren commanded a majority but not the required two-thirds and on each succeeding ballot his lead decreased. In desperation political managers sought for an available candidate who would not be distasteful to Van Buren but who would accept the Southern position. The choice fell upon James Polk of Tennessee, Jackson's leading supporter in that state, who had seemed the certain nominee for Vice President. He was "sound" on Texas and had declared in April, before the views of Van Buren were known, that he hoped that "the fixed policy of the government would be not to suffer Great Britain or any other foreign power to plant a colony in or hold dominion over any portion of Oregon or Texas"¹⁴ So was chosen the first "dark horse" for the Presidential sweep-stakes, a man not widely known, of whom a Southern Whig wrote scornfully: "The Democrats here cry 'hurrah for Polk' in the street and come round to ask me who the devil he is."¹⁵

Having chosen their candidate the delegates turned to draft the platform. In response to the popular interest in both Texas and Oregon and in a natural desire to please Democrats in North and South alike the following significant resolution was endorsed by the Convention. "Resolved that our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest possible moment are great American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union."¹⁶ Very wisely the delegates did not discuss the exact meaning of "re-annexation" or re-occupation" but returned to their districts to cheer for "Texas and Polk" and "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight".

When the ballots were counted Polk has won by a large majority in the Electoral college but by a narrow one in the popular vote. Historians differ as to the reasons for his success. It is generally agreed that Clay lost New York because Abolition votes went against him after he attempted late in the campaign to "straddle the fence" on the Texan question. Rhodes claims that a "key" state like Pennsylvania was won by the promise of a higher tariff expressed in the slogan "Polk, Dallas and the Tariff of 1924."¹⁷ A contemporary historian of the Whig party declares

¹⁴ Quoted in McMaster, *People's History of the United States* (New York, 1910) Vol. VII, p. 346.

¹⁵ Quoted in Morison, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 74.

that British money was circulated openly in the campaign to win votes for Polk in the belief that he would favour a lower tariff than Clay the advocate of the American System.¹⁸ Professor Garrison says flatly that "Polk won because the people of the United States wanted Texas".¹⁹ Against his opinion should be placed the weighty testimony of A. J. Beveridge in his recent life of Abraham Lincoln. "Indeed as a practical influence on voters the American title to the Oregon country was quite as strong a political factor in the campaign of 1844 as the annexation of Texas".²⁰ An analysis of the election figures between 1832 and 1848 in the states most interested in Oregon helps to confirm this statement. Missouri, which sent a great many settlers to Oregon and was consistently Democratic gave the Democrat ticket in 1844 the largest majority in any of the five elections during this period under analysis. In Ohio the Whig majority of almost 24,000 in 1840 was reduced to 6,000. Indiana turned a Whig majority in 1840 of about 13,500 into a Democrat majority of over 2,000. Lincoln's home state, Illinois, gave the Democrats an increased majority of over 10,000. Michigan, voting for the first time, went Democrat by over 3,000.²¹

Probably because he was the first "dark horse" candidate, American historians have been slow to admit the success of Polk as President. It is only since, the bias on account of the Civil War has declined, the publication of his diary, and the appearance of an able study of his career by Professor McCormac, that the Tennessean has received the credit which to his services entitled him. In England Polk is still regarded somewhat in the light of a character out of "Martin Chuzzlewit" because of his Oregon policy. A recent biography of Peel refers to Polk as "an ignorant and a violent man"²² while even as able a critic as Algernon Cecil dismisses him as "a President of the baser sort".²³ Both of these descriptions are but caricatures of that "stiff angular person with sharp grey eyes in a sad lean face and grizzled hair overtopping a back coat-collar".²⁴ James Polk though a dark horse was not an ignoramus. He had served fourteen years in Congress, part of the time as Speaker and had been Governor of Tennessee for one term. A staunch party man, who was nominated as "the bosom friend of Gen. Jackson, and a pure whole-hogged Democrat, the known enemy of banks and distribution",²⁵ he was generally trusted. As President, Polk ruled as master of his supporters and his Cabinet, despite the number of men superior to him in ability who were in its ranks. John Quincy Adams might sneer at him as "just qualified for an eminent county-court lawyer"²⁶ but the Boston Brahmin never achieved a tithe of Polk's success while President. The student, who never missed a lecture, was the President, who insisted upon regularity of attendance at Cabinet meeting and assiduous attention to departmental duties and who literally wore himself out during his four years at the White House. There have been abler Presidents and many more likeable ones but none left the White House having carried to completion more of his policies than President Polk.

When Polk assumed his duties he did so as an expansionist rather than slave-holder despite his Southern origin and convictions.²⁷ The

¹⁸ National Party Platforms, compiled by Kirk H. Porter, quoted in Cunningham "The Significance of 1846 to the Pacific Coast", *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, p. 31.

¹⁷ Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1850-1877* (New York, 1919 ed.) Vol. 1, p. 83.

¹⁸ Ormsby, *History of the Whig Party* (Boston, 1859), p. 300.

¹⁹ Garrison, *Westward Expansion* (American Nation series, New York 1906), p. 137.

²⁰ Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1928), Vol. I, p. 368.

²¹ These election figures are taken from Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (Boston, 1898).

²² Ramsay, *Peel* (London, 1928) p. 255.

annexation of Texas had been completed in the dying hours of the Tyler Administration. Deprived of that opportunity, he was eager to round off American territory in California and Oregon and suspicious of British policy in both quarters, largely because of Lord Aberdeen's fumbling policy towards the Republic of Texas and the tactless efforts of British subject in California. He shared the conviction of "Old Hickory" that the British must be treated firmly since they confuse moderation with weakness in diplomacy. As Polk later told a Congressman "the only way to treat John Bull was to look him straight in the eye."²⁸ Accordingly in his inaugural address Polk took pains to re-assert his acceptance of the Democratic platform and spoke of "my duty to assert and maintain by all constitutional means the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of Oregon is clear and unquestionable and already our people are preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children."²⁹

The news of this unequivocal endorsement by the new President of the extreme American claim aroused considerable irritation in London where the manner of presenting the claim was probably resented as much as the claim itself. Mr. Greville fumed and scolded that "it is a nuisance to have in such a post as that of the Presidency of the United States a man who is neither a gentleman nor a statesman and who does not know how statesmen and nations ought to and must behave to one another."³⁰ The London press was full of annoyed comments and the Peel government arranged on April 4 a full dress debate upon the subject for both Houses in which only the chief party leaders participated, a fact which Dr. Newton interprets as indicating how seriously the government regarded the situation.³¹ Peel told the House of Commons: "We consider we have rights respecting this territory that are clear and unquestionable. We trust still to arrive at an amicable adjustment... but having exhausted every effort to effect that settlement if our rights should be invaded we are resolved and are prepared to maintain them."³² In the House of Lords Lord Aberdeen used almost precisely the same language. "We too, my Lords, have rights which are clear and unquestionable and these rights, with the blessing of God and your support, we are fully prepared to maintain."³³ Following the debate two British men of war were despatched to Puget Sound and two British Officers, Warre and Vauvasour were sent overland from Canada to examine the defenses.³⁴ While they were examining defenses, Lieutenant Peel of the Royal Navy a son of the Prime Minister, was detailed to report upon the nature of the American occupation of Oregon.³⁵ It was well that he should have been despatched as the Governors of the Hudson's Bay

²³ Cecil, *British Foreign Secretaries* (London, 1927), p. 124.

²⁴ Morison, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 74.

²⁵ McCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

²⁶ Nevins, (editor), *The Diary of John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1923), p. 446.

²⁷ McCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

²⁸ Nevins, (editor), *Polk, The Diary of a President* (New York, 1929), p. 42. This is an abridgment of the original four volume diary edited by Quaife and will hereafter be cited as "Diary."

²⁹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. iv, p. 381 quoted in Cunningham *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁰ Quoted in Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-56.

³¹ Ward and Gooch, (editors), *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 1923), Vol. 2, p. 258.

³² Hansard third Series. LXXIX, p. 199, quoted in Ward and Gooch, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59.

³³ Quoted in Gordon, *Lord Aberdeen* (London, 1905), p. 180.

³⁴ Their official report is published in the *Oregon Historical Review*, Vol. X.

³⁵ Carey, *History of Oregon* (Chicago 1922), p. 493.

Company were just embarking upon a vital change of policy which destroyed most of the argument for the retention of the Columbia. Alarmed by the steady incursion of American settlers into the Willamette valley, although none settled north of the Columbia river until October, 1845,³⁶ Sir George Simpson gave orders on January 1, 1845, to Doctor McLoughlin to abandon Fort Vancouver as the base for furs and trade and transfer it to Fort Victoria which was just getting under way.³⁷

Meanwhile, having kept faith with the party platform President Polk, rather reluctantly, if we may judge from his later remarks, opened negotiations with the British Prime Minister along the lines of those of his predecessors. On July 11, 1845, he had his Secretary of State submit an offer to Pakenham that the 49th parallel to the sea be the boundary line. His offer was less favourable than those made to his predecessors, who had been willing to concede navigation rights on the Columbia. It was rejected on his own responsibility by the British Minister who expressed the hope that a future offer would be "more consistent with fairness and equity and with the reasonable expectations of the British government."³⁸ Pakenham was not happy in Washington and two years later while on leave in England "preferred to retire on pension rather than return to the United States." The effect of this tactless attitude was distinctly unfortunate as it angered Polk and gave him an opportunity to escape from following the policy of his predecessors, of which he was not slow to avail himself. At a Cabinet meeting on August 26 which discussed what steps should be taken, the President summarized his policy as "let the argument of our title to the whole country be full, let the proposition to compromise at latitude 49° be withdrawn, and then let the matter rest unless the British Ministers chose to continue the negotiation."³⁹ The Secretary of State Buchanan was distinctly nervous at this bold stand and tried to frighten the President by conjuring up the spectre of war but Polk refused to be alarmed and said "if war was the consequence England would be in the wrong" and he was confident "the people would be prompt and ready to sustain the government in the course which he proposed to pursue."⁴⁰ Even a hint of the danger of trouble with Britain when war with Mexico seemed in the offing did not shake the President's determination.

In October Lord Aberdeen expressed to the American Minister in London his regret at Pakenham's blunder and intimated that the British Government would like to discuss again the situation. In Washington Mr. Pakenham was also endeavouring to re-open negotiation on the basis of the July offer. But the President was inflexible and was by now contemplating a statement of the Monroe Doctrine to meet the situation. Events had shown that the people did favour a firm stand on Oregon and, according to Senator Benton, Congress "came together under the loud cry of war in which Mr. Cass was the leader, but followed by the body of the democracy, and backed and cheered on by the democratic press, some hundreds of papers."⁴¹

In his first annual Message to Congress Polk did state his interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, being the first President to make use of that

³⁶ Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 683.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 692-93. The transfer was only gradual however. James Douglas did not assume direct administration of Fort Victoria until June 1849.

³⁸ McMaster, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

³⁹ Diary, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴¹ Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 562. The rumours of war caused an interesting visit to Polk from the Boston agent of Baring Brothers.

celebrated obiter dictum. He deserted the right of any independent state to join the United States "without any foreign interposition," a reference to the Texan situation and then went on with reference to Oregon to declare that "no further European colony or domination shall, without consent be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."⁴² Besides this statement of principle, the Message contained an elaborate review of the negotiations to date and an explanation of the reason for the withdrawal of the compromise offer. The President proposed to ask Congress to pass the necessary resolution calling for the abandonment of joint occupation of Oregon, and also requested legislation to extend American laws and jurisdiction over American citizens in Oregon, to erect block-houses along the Oregon Trail, and to raise regiment of mounted riflemen to protect the emigrants en route to Oregon. These measures of practical policy had in October been discussed with Senator Benton who exercised considerable influence in Congress and who had for some time favoured the termination of joint occupation. In succeeding months Benton gave valuable aid to the Administration, while never abandoning his own conviction that the 49th parallel was a satisfactory boundary and that the British already had a valid claim to the Fraser valley based on its occupation by British settlers.

This bold stand was popular both in Congress and throughout the country. Even the cautious Buchanan who had deprecated the stiffness of the phrasing admitted that it "was better received than any other similar communication to Congress in my day."⁴³ In his diary Polk comments upon the favourable comments and seems to have been especially pleased by the remarks of Senator Archer of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations who was a Whig but laughingly avowed himself "a half Polk man."⁴⁴

Three weeks after the Message to Congress Polk and his Cabinet held a "grave discussion" on the possibility of war with Britain. For once the President and the Secretary of State were agreed that the government should make vigorous preparations for defence. The Cabinet were unanimous in agreeing to reject any proposal of arbitration which they expected, quite correctly would come from the British Minister.⁴⁵ This unanimous rejection of arbitration is in interesting contrast to the insistence upon British arbitration of disputed territory with Venezuela that another Democratic president stressed so emphatically in the Nineties. At the close of the meeting Polk did drop one hint of compromise which foreshadows his later policy. In response to a question from Buchanan, concerning what reply he should give the British Minister if he asked that the southern tip of Vancouver Island should be left to the British if they conceded the 49th parallel as the frontier, Polk announced that, in the event of an offer of this nature "I would consult confidentially three or four Senators from different parts of the Union and might submit it to the Senate for their previous advice."⁴⁶ Buchanan regarded this intimation of collaboration with Senate as so important that he took it down in writing.⁴⁷

The debates in Congress over the measures proposed by the President lasted until April and presented a puzzling situation. In brief there were

⁴² Quoted in Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁴³ Schuyler, "Polk and the Oregon Convention of 1846," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 26, p. 452.

⁴⁴ *Diary*, p. 31.

⁴⁵ Pakenham twice suggested arbitration.

⁴⁶ *Diary*, p. 36.

⁴⁷ McCormac, *op. cit.* 582.

three factions whose views differed sharply. The first, composed mainly of Southerners, disliked pressing Britain too vigorously and was ready to compromise considerably especially since Texas was safe. Calhoun even at first deprecated the cancellation of the convention for joint occupation. Their attitude exasperated the expansionists of the North West in sympathy with the Senator from Indiana, who would hear of nothing but Fifty-Four Forty, and who told his Southern colleagues. "Now when you have got Texas, it means just so much of Oregon as you in your kindness and condescendation think proper to give us. You little know us if you think the mighty West will be trodden on in this way."⁴⁸ A third group including Benton favoured compromise on the Forty-ninth Parallel and held the balance of power. The President was annoyed by the wrangling, which he rather unfairly described to purely presidential aspirations. In a rare flash of humour, referring to the election year 1848, he remarked, "Forty-eight has been with them the great question, and hence the divisions in the Democratic party."⁴⁹ Polk also lamented in his diary the absence of "any certain or reliable support in Congress,"⁵⁰ but steadily refused to permit any Senator to present his views. Senator Crittenden well described the President's difficulties when he wrote "If he don't settle and make peace at Forty-nine or some other parallel of compromise, the one side curses him; and if he yields an inch or stops a hair's breadth short of 54 degrees 40 minutes, the other side damns him without redemption. Was ever a gentleman in such a fix? He might almost say, like Satan, that "Hell was around him."⁵¹

It was not until April 23, that a Resolution passed both Houses, which authorized the President, at his discretion, to give notice of abrogating the Convention, and which contained in its preamble a clause explaining that such action did not preclude "any further negotiations for an amicable settlement." Polk was not altogether pleased at the insertion of this clause in the preamble even although the Mexican situation was growing rapidly more critical.⁵² However, he was well aware that it would evoke an offer from the British Government, and he informed the American Minister in London that the awaited proposals from Great Britain. At the same time he dropped a hint to Senator McDuffie of South Carolina, that any offer from Great Britain which suggested the 49th Parallel "or what was equivalent to it or with slight modifications"⁵³ would be submitted to the Senate for advice before any action was taken.

The centre of interest now shifts to London where Peel and Aberdeen were well aware of the gravity of the situation. Both men had had intimations by various means, from Webster, Everett the previous American Minister, and McLane the present Minister, that a settlement could be reached with the 49th Parallel as a basis of compromise.⁵⁴ Lord Aberdeen was especially anxious to reach a solution before the Government, which was in difficulties over the Corn Laws, should fall from power. As he wrote to Everett "I told Sir Robert Peel, I had no other desire than that our Government should last long enough for him to carry the Corn Bill,

⁴⁸ Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

⁴⁹ Diary, p. 73.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵¹ Quoted in McCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 599.

⁵² Diary, p. 74.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵⁴ Benson, Daniel Webster (New York, 1929), p. 308.

Schuyler, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

Schafer, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

and for me to settle Oregon.”⁵⁵ Although there is no mention of it in Polk’s diary, Lord Aberdeen seems to have dropped a hint to the American Government that it would do well to conclude negotiations with him, rather than delay and be faced by a new Government with Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.⁵⁶ Moreover the British Ministry was now acquainted with the change of heart of the Hudson’s Bay Company and had heard in February from Lieutenant Peel in person that the American settlements were growing in the Willamette Valley.⁵⁷

On May 10 Lord Aberdeen communicated to Mr. McLane the offer which finally proved the basis of the treaty. As far as the Coast, the boundary should be the 49th Parallel, but there it should swing southward so as to leave Vancouver Island in British hands. The Hudson’s Bay Company should be left in undisturbed possession of its properties, and should be allowed free navigation of the Columbia river for itself and for British subjects trading with it. This offer reached Polk on June 3, almost a month after the declaration of war on Mexico. Although he was aware that if it were rejected a war might ensue with Great Britain, it was only reluctantly that the President decided to lay the correspondence before Senate.⁵⁸ The old belief that the war with Mexico frightened Polk into a hurried sacrifice of American rights, does not hold water when his diary is examined. Two days after the declaration of war on Mexico, for example, Polk was discussing with the Secretary of State the possibility of European intervention to prevent the United States from acquiring California, upon which he had set his heart. The President told Buchanan that if either England or France should attempt to exact a promise not to annex California, that before he would make such a promise “I would meet the war which either England or France, or all the powers of Christendom might wage, and I would stand and fight until the last man among us fell in the conflict.”⁵⁹ As Professor Morison has pointed out, Polk could have dragged on negotiations with Great Britain until hostilities had ended with Mexico; and then turned to face Great Britain with a strong army and with an excited public opinion behind him.⁶⁰

When the President discussed the British offer with his Cabinet on June 6th, four of them recommended its submission to the Senate. To the annoyance of his colleagues, Buchanan, Secretary of State, reversed his position, and declared “the Fifty-Four Forty” men were the true friends of the Administration, and he wished no backing out on the subject.”⁶¹ Polk felt that Buchanan was attempting to play politics, and was scheming to evade any responsibility for the decision. He decided to ask the advice of Senate, making it clear in his covering letter that if they did not offer an opinion he would revert to his previous position and reject the compromise.⁶²

On June 10 the President forwarded the British offer to the Senate, with a request for their advice. In the intervening four days Senator Benton had discussed the situation with a number of Whig Senators, and

⁵⁵ Balfour, *The Life of George 4th Earl of Aberdeen* (London, n.d.), Vol. 2, p. 135.

⁵⁶ c.f. Gordon *op. cit.*, p. 181. Balfour, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256

⁵⁷ Shafer, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁵⁸ Diary, p. 109.

⁵⁹ Diary, p. 91.

⁶⁰ Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁶¹ Diary, p. 112. As early as March Buchanan had shown signs of supporting the extremists’ position. (Diary, p. 63.)

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 112. Benton claims (p. 674) that he suggested the reference of the offer to Senate.

received assurances of their support. After two days of debate the Senate passed a resolution advising the acceptance of the Aberdeen offer by a majority of 38 to 12.⁶³ Senator Benton was naturally pleased with the settlement, and claimed with pride that the Senate resumed the "whole responsibility" of peace or war, giving the President "a faithful support against himself, his cabinet and his peculiar friends." In the debates the Western Senators struggled hard to defeat the motion, but the bulk of the Senate were peacefully inclined, and respected the conciliatory attitude of the British Government. The voting was on sectional rather than on party lines, only one Southern Senator voting against the offer; and only three western Senators voting for it. Daniel Webster, who had steadily pleaded for a moderate policy, later could not resist the temptation of launching a final gibe at the President; "in the general operation of Government, treaties are negotiated by the President and ratified by the President, but here is the reverse—here is a treaty negotiated by the Senate and ratified by the President."⁶⁴ The President signed the Treaty without comment, and it was promptly ratified by the Senate with an increased majority of 41 to 14.

In Great Britain the news was received with relief. Lord Aberdeen was able to announce the successful conclusion of negotiations on the eve of the fall of the Peel Government. Queen Victoria heartily approved of the settlement, and commented "This is an immense thing for the peace of the world and reflects such credit on Lord Aberdeen."⁶⁵

In following the course of negotiations it is clear that the lion's share of the credit for the Treaty must go to the British Government for its wise and conciliatory attitude. The American Senate deserves commendation for doing a statesmanlike thing, rather against the popular clamor for expansion. We must acquit President Polk of sacrificing a national interest to a sectional slavery policy, or of hastily retiring from an untenable position. It was he who had made the British Government properly appreciate the feeling behind the American demand for the entire country. It must be remembered that the President never entirely shut the door to British offer, although for a time only a narrow crack was left open. It is also unfair to criticise Polk for not assuming full responsibility for the Treaty. In view of the campaign promises of 1844, he could scarcely be expected to undertake single handed the responsibility for compromise. In referring the issue to Senate, he was able to avert too serious a split in the Democratic Party. No one who reads his Diary, cannot but respect his courage and dogged determination. The opinion of Richard Rush, joint author of one of the wisest conventions in the history of Anglo-American relations, the Rush-Bagot agreement, is a fitting epitaph upon the policy of the President.

"For one I am unshaken in the belief that it was the President's opening message to the first Congress . . . that produced the settlement of the Oregon difficulty. It was like a great bomb-shell thrown in the British Cabinet. It took them by surprise, and first roused them to the unavoidable necessity of a settlement. I thought, when it appeared, that it would lead to war—so bold was it, though every word was just; whereas it led to peace."⁶⁶

⁶³ Benton, *op. cit.*, pp. 675, 676.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Meany, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁶⁵ Balfour, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 135. Hudson's Bay resident officers thought the settlement more generous than was necessary but some, like Douglas, expected "nothing short of an utter sacrifice of our interests." *c.f.* Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia* (Toronto, 1930), p. 139.

⁶⁶ Quoted in McCrmae, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

SOME LETTERS OF MABANE TO RIEDESEL (1781-1783)

By MR. E. FABRE SURVEYER, F.R.S.C. AND DOROTHY WARREN

On September 10, 1781, Major Riedesel who had landed in Quebec on June 1, 1776, at the head of the Brunswick troops and spent a year in Canada arrived at Quebec for the second time. He was at once sent to take possession of his old quarters at Sorel. There a house was prepared for him, where the monotony of his life was broken by the occasional visit of a German or English officer and by his constant correspondence with his friends, the most important of whom were Governor Haldimand and Judge Mabane. Some of Riedesel's letters to Haldimand have been published by Max Von Felking and translated by William Stone of Saratoga Springs. Twenty-one of Mabane's letters to Riedesel were acquired by D. R. McCord, K.C., and are now in the McCord National Museum. Some of these letters are in French. In one of them, undated, Mabane says: "Tout Anglais doit avoir de la Reconnaissance pour les Officiers Etrangers qui se distinguent par leur Zèle et Attachement au Service du Roi et Je ne suis que sincère quand Je Proffesse les Sentiments du Respect et Reconnaissance que Je ressens pour vous."

On March 28, 1782, Mabane excuses himself for not having stopped at Sorel on his way to Montreal, alleging that he has been kept busy attending General Haldimand who had had a fall.

A letter dated Quebec, October 30, 1782, hints at a duel fought by leading Quebec citizens: "The dispute between Davidson and Chandler is where you left it, except that in consequence of some Transaction at ye Coffee House Davidson and Lees desired him to meet them on ye Heights where exchanged a Shot wt each of them. The Affair gave me great uneasiness as I was a great Well wisher to both parties." Davidson and Lees were merchants in Quebec and partners. The father of Lees wrote a journal of his voyage in 1768 from London to Boston and back by the River St. Lawrence to Montreal, which occupied five and a half months. It was published in 1911 by the Society of Colonial Wars, State of Michigan. Strangely enough Davidson and Lees to whom Mabane was a "great well-wisher" took judgment against his Estate and had Woodfield sold by the Sheriff. As to Kenneth Cameron Chandler, Lees' opponent, he was an Ordinance officer who owned one sixth of the Seignory of Nicolet. He died in 1803.

On November 18, 1782, Mabane congratulates Riedesel on the birth of his daughter, christened "Canada". A sister of the new born baby had been called "America". "Canada," however died a few months later, which prompted Mabane to send sympathy. On January 23, 1783 Mabane deplores the levity of Quebecers. "There is nothing here but feasting, dancing, and in short dissipation of every kind." A few weeks later he harps on the same subject, planning to stop at Sorel on his way to Montreal. "I am sure I will relish ye Society of your family more than the Noise and dissipation of this Town. Instead of enjoying Life, the whole business is how to impose upon one another & to make others think they are enjoying it when in reality they are only endeavoring to drive away Ennui."

Mabane however was very fond of theatricals and on February 17, 1783, wrote: "To our other Amusements we have added that of a Play

House which in my Opinion much exceeds the others. I can assure you that some of the Gentlemen excell in their parts. I have wished much that you & family had been present to partake of ye pleasure which I received from them." Three days later he adds "I could wish that they could partake of the Pleasure, which the Play-house affords, but I hope that next May you and they will judge whether the Accounts of the Merits of the Performers are exaggerated."

At last in March, 1783, Mabane succeeded in reaching Sorel. He was expected to bring back Cordelia Murray, the daughter of his friend, Walter Murray, but she apparently enjoyed herself so much at Sorel that she remained behind.

On April 3 he expressed sympathy on the death of "Canada" and invited Major General Riedesel and his family to stay with him. He said "The air at Woodfield is ye healthiest in Canada and the Exercise which can easily be come at there, will be useful for the whole family." Unfortunately before his letter had reached its destination Woodfield had been reduced to ashes. He did not, however, give up the hope of receiving his German friends. In a letter, dated April 10, 1783, he said "Had it happened last Nov. I would have felt less Regret but the loss is at present embittered by ye prospect of losing the enjoyment of ye Country for one Summer at least, or at least I cannot expect to be comfortably settled, I flatter myself nevertheless that I will spend many days there tho' in a Tent or hut wt you & Family. We can be conveniently accomodated in ye House in Town & what between Monmorenci & ye woods at Woodfield, Madme de Riedesel & ye Children will have sufficient Exercise and as You are fond of gardening, you will have it in Town for your Amusement."

On April 21 he renewed the invitation and extended it to Parson Aemilius, the faithful chaplain of the Riedesel family.

On April 28 he expressed dissatisfaction on the preliminaries of Peace and says "One would suspect yt the Articles wt regard to America & Britain were dictated by the Congress and implicitly agreed to by our Ministers."

The Riedesels stayed with Dr. Mabane and his sister in the spring of 1783 but shortly afterwards they were recalled to Germany and had to pay a last visit to Quebec before sailing. On June 22, 1783, Mabane wrote to Riedesel: "I own I begin to feel ye Regret of losing You I am perfectly reconciled to residing in this Country in every Respect but that of being so often separated from people for whom I feel friendship and Esteem, but there is no Situation in Life without Inconvenience."

In the last letter dated June 30, 1783, Mabane wrote to Riedesel, "in case you come by Land, and you can tell ye day you will be at Pointe aux Trembles, I will have the Callaisse for you & Mrs. de Riedesel to bring You to Town."

AN EARLY NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT IN CANADA

By THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Increasing numbers of Norwegians, responding to the attraction of the Mississippi Valley, turned to the west in the first half of the nineteenth century. Emigration for them, as they confronted complex old-world economic and social difficulties, was a cutting of the Gordian knot, and they eagerly followed in the paths marked out by such trail blazers as Cleng Peerson and Ole Rynning. These paths led first to New York and then to the widening frontier of the Middle West, where the northern immigrants aided in the conquest of the continent and won for themselves a place among the commonwealth builders of America.

The great majority of Norwegian emigrants from 1836 to 1850 followed routes that brought them to New York, Boston, or other American ports either by direct passage or by way of Hamburg, Havre, or Liverpool. Of an estimated total of 18,200 in this period, 12,200 went direct from Norway to America, and 6,000 by way of the more important European points of departure outside Norway. Of the former number, 11,960 landed at United States ports and only 240 at Quebec.¹ A marked difference in the situation appeared from 1851 to 1853, however. Direct shipping from Norway reduced Norwegian emigration by way of other European countries; and Quebec became a more important receiving station for the northern immigrants than the American ports to the south. In this transitional period 7,510 emigrants from Norway were carried direct to Quebec, 4,550 direct to New York and Boston, and 660 by way of Hamburg, Havre, or other non-Norwegian ports to New York. From 1854 on, the pendulum swings sharply toward Quebec as the initial destination of the emigrants. It is estimated that of 46,900 Norwegian emigrants in the period from 1854 to 1865, all but 2,800 followed the Quebec route.² The emigrants, however, were bound for the American West by way of the Great Lakes, with Milwaukee or Chicago as the last objective before seeking out the settlements on the farming frontier. This remarkable swing to Quebec as a port of entry grew out of a trade development that made it possible for companies engaged in the transatlantic carrying trade greatly to reduce passenger fares. For Norwegian shipowners the lumber industry centering at Quebec made possible a profitable triangular trade, consisting of emigrants from Norway to Quebec, lumber from the Canadian city to some British port, and a return from the British Isles to the original starting point. The main reason for this conjunction of the Norwegian emigration traffic and Canadian commerce was of course the repeal in 1849 of the English navigation laws. Quebec customs house returns indicate that as early as 1850 the Norwegian trade was becoming brisk, for of 96 vessels listed, 44 were Norwegian, almost all of which entered under ballast and departed with "outward cargoes" for London, Cardiff, Belfast, Hull, Yarmouth, or other ports of the United Kingdom.³

¹ A. N. Kier, in *Tabeller vedkommende Folkemængdens Bevægelse i Aarene 1856-1865*, lxxiii (*Norges Officielle Statistik*, 1869, c. no. 1).

² *Ibid.* Of the total indicated, 44,100 went direct to Quebec, 520 direct to New York, and 2,280 via Havre, Hamburg, or other intermediate points to New York.

³ I. D. Andrews, *Report on the Trade, Commerce, and Resources of the British North American Colonies*, 142-144, 450 (31 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 23).

The settlement of Scandinavian immigrants in considerable numbers in Canada did not occur until the period of rapid exploitation of the prairie provinces. Some efforts were made, however, to stir interest in Canada as a possible field for Norwegian immigrant colonization in the fifties and sixties, when large numbers of immigrants from the northern kingdom were receiving their introduction to the western world at Quebec. As early as 1856 an announcement emanating from the Canadian minister of agriculture placed before Norwegians the prospect of securing settlers' lands in three specified areas. In order to take advantage of the offer one needed to be at least eighteen years of age, to occupy the land within a month after claiming it, to bring a stated part of it under cultivation within four years, and to build on it a house at least twenty by eighteen feet in size, with the proviso that if groups of families so desired, they might build one large central dwelling. Something of Canada's boundless possibilities was suggested by the statement that these vacant lands could accommodate eight million people—more than five times the population of all Norway.⁴ This announcement seems to have had little effect, though about 1856 some twenty or thirty Norwegian families established a settlement about twenty miles from Cherbourg in Canada East.⁵ The next year the Canadian department of agriculture published at Quebec a Norwegian translation of a handbook for immigrants. This was a phase of a larger campaign for immigrant settlers, one aspect of which was the spread in Europe and among arriving immigrants of information about Canada's great resources and possibilities. Useful details were combined with broad generalization: "Canada is in truth 'a land of hope, which will not be disappointed,' where work of every kind wins well-deserved rewards." Labor and bread await every worker in this "market for all the world's products."⁶

A more vigorous policy was initiated through the appointment in 1858 of a Norwegian agent of the immigration department at Quebec. This man was Christopher Closter, a brother of Asbjørn Kloster, the noted temperance reformer and Quaker leader at Stavanger. He had emigrated to the United States before 1850, was a commission merchant at Hamilton, Canada West, in 1855; and soon thereafter, with another Norwegian, formed a company in Quebec to promote the Norwegian lumber-carrying business. In 1859, the year after his appointment as agent, Closter urged the Canadian Government to set aside a definite area for Norwegian colonization. This proposal was approved, and a site was selected in the vicinity of Gaspé, a village in Canada East situated on a deep bay in a peninsula projecting into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Land within a stated area was to be restricted to Norwegians, who would have the privilege of selecting one hundred acres each for a total sum of twenty dollars payable in five years. Gaspé was a heavily wooded, remote fishermen's settlement in a region of long and severe winters. Isolated it may have been, but it was much nearer Norway than was the American West. Numerous immigrants arrived in Canada without funds with which to pay their fares to Wisconsin or Minnesota. Why not promote a settlement that would be within comparatively easy reach of these enterprising but impecunious

⁴ *Morgenbladet* (Christiania), November 2, 1856.

⁵ Rev. G. F. Dietrichson tells of this settlement in an address reported in *Morgenbladet*, April 10, 1861.

⁶ *Canada: En Kortfattet Skildring af dens Geographiske Beliggenhed*. . . (Quebec, 1857, 26 p.). The translation was made by A. Jorgensen. A copy of this rare pamphlet is in the library of the University of Oslo. A pamphlet by A. Jorgensen entitled *The Emigration from Europe during the present century, its causes and effects* (Quebec, 1865) is in the Public Archives of Canada.

people? As for the climate, Norwegians were used to long and cold winters; and both fishing and farming opened up possibilities on the Gaspé shores. Closter persuaded several small contingents of Norwegians in 1860 to settle on the lands selected for the project, and in the same year he was authorized to go to Norway to promote the interests of the colony. Nine of the colonists, in a letter written in November, 1860, sang the praises of Gaspé, wrote that they were building homes and would have a schoolhouse of their own, and expressed satisfaction with the land. In a later letter, signed by two immigrants, it is stated that about fifty Norwegians were at Gaspé in December of that year.⁷

In 1861 Closter, who had journeyed back to his native land in his official capacity, brought out a revision of the earlier Norwegian edition of the handbook for immigrants, with its store of condensed information about Canada, its lands, minerals, fisheries, government, laws, and people. The book contains many practical details for the prospective settler on such subjects as the pioneer's equipment and the prices of supplies and tools. Gaspé is mentioned briefly but in generous tone: "The lands in the Gaspé district have a light but rich soil, which produces all kinds of grains and vegetation. In these districts are millions of acres still in their natural state and covered with beautiful woods." And again: "The population in the Gaspé district and the northern coast of St. Lawrence River and Bay comprises 32,000 souls. In this district alone 500,000 people could make their living."⁸

Closter's brother, the Norwegian Quaker leader, had of course no official connection with the Gaspé plan, but he was interested in it and privately encouraged it. He was in communication with a Swedish Quaker, Carl Schöllström of Upsala, who was contemplating emigration in order to escape religious intolerance in Sweden. Schöllström reported the existence of a Swedish Quaker society of some fifty members, for whom the outlook was dark because they were at odds with the established church.⁹ Early in 1861 he suggested that Quakers in the North might unite in a colony somewhere in North America, for he was convinced that emigration was their only hope. A little later he came to the conclusion that it was God's will that he should emigrate. The book on Canada, sent him by Asbjørn Kloster, had caused him to consider seriously the choice of Gaspé as his destination. And in 1862—his name by that time metamorphosed under Anglo-Saxon influences to Charles Shieldstream—he wrote to Kloster from Gaspé basin.¹⁰

Meanwhile, however, Christopher Closter's plans for a Norwegian colony in Canada East had been sharply attacked by the Reverend G. F. Dietrichson of Stavanger, recently returned from a pioneer pastorate in Wisconsin. On January 8, 1861, he publicly invited Closter to debate with him on the emigration question or, if he preferred, to publish fully his reasons for recommending Canada to prospective emigrants. This invitation occurred before the Canadian handbook had appeared, and Asbjørn Kloster

⁷ The letter of December 18, 1860, signed by Halvor Jordal and Elling H. Vigen, and that of November, signed by Petter A. Berg and nine others, were published in Stavanger and Christiania newspapers and reprinted in *Emigranten* (Madison, Wisconsin), April 29, 1861. Several letters from Closter to his brother from 1850 to 1859, in the Kloster Papers, Quaker Archives, Stavanger, Norway, give information about his early activities in the United States and Canada. See also an account of Gaspé experiences by N. C. Brun, "Første aars oplevelser," in *Symra* (Decorah, Iowa), 7: 110-119.

⁸ C. O. Closter, *Canada: En Kortfattet Skildring af dets geografiske Beliggenhed*. . . , 16, 47-48, and *passim* (Stavanger, 1861). A copy of this book is in the Deichmanske Library, Oslo.

⁹ Schöllström to A. Kloster, May 29, 1859, in Kloster Papers.

¹⁰ Schöllström to A. Kloster, March 1, 18, May 22, 1861, and March 15, 1862, in Kloster Papers.

replied on behalf of his brother, that the latter's book about Canadian conditions would soon be published.¹¹ In the early spring newspapers announced that two barks soon would leave for Canada with Gaspé colonists. This announcement seems to have aroused the ire of the pugnacious Dietrichson, who forthwith declared that he would give a public lecture on emigration and emigration agents, meanwhile cautioning people under no circumstances to make arrangements with Closter to emigrate to Gaspé. On April 2 he delivered his address; and some days later, with Dietrichson present, Closter attempted a public answer, after which the irrepressible minister arose and delivered a spirited and effective rebuttal. Much interest was aroused by this clash, which was widely reported in the Norwegian press.¹²

Dietrichson began his lecture by sketching the history of emigration, which he declared was now setting strongly toward Minnesota and eventually would sweep westward to the Pacific Coast. He asserted that civil war was imminent in the United States and that a southern invasion of the upper Mississippi Valley would inevitably follow; for this and numerous other reasons he advised against all emigration. Nevertheless, if people must emigrate, he said, the American West was the proper region in which to select sites for settlement. Gaspé he curtly disposed of as a bleak, isolated, heavily forested region that could be recommended only by one having a commercial interest in its promotion. Closter in his reply exhibited wheat and timothy which he asserted had been grown at Gaspé; sketched the perils of the journey to the American interior, which could be avoided by those who chose Canadian settlement; in general defended Canada as a suitable land for immigrants; and incidentally denounced Dietrichson as a land speculator. When Closter suggested that people who were dissatisfied with Gaspé would have the privilege of migrating elsewhere, Dietrichson pounced upon the statement, explaining that the poor ordinarily would find it difficult to avail themselves of so expensive a privilege; hence the necessity of good judgment in primary land selection. The personal attack he brushed off by stating that he did not own a foot of land in the West and by reminding Closter that he was on record as opposed to all emigration. After the debate newspapers announced that a considerable number of prospective colonists had withdrawn their names.¹³

Nevertheless not a few set off for Gaspé. In addition to those who went under Closter's wing, about a hundred prospective emigrants to Canada were recruited at Trondhjem by another agent, said to have been a Canadian government appointee, and some of these eventually arrived at Gaspé.¹⁴ The main group sailed on the *Iris* and reached Gaspé on July 25, 1861. Only a few members of the party died during the crossing, but on one Norwegian emigrant vessel sailing about the same time twenty-eight children and four adults died, probably of cholera. Closter evidenced his own faith in Gaspé by bringing to it his wife and family, his aged father and mother, also a brother, and various other relatives. The story of the

¹¹ *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, January 10, 15, 1861.

¹² *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, March 11, 20, 27, April 2, 4, 8, 15, 1861. Dietrichson's lecture also appears in *Almuevennen*, April 13, 20, 1861.

¹³ *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, April 15, 1861. Dietrichson's general criticisms of conditions in the United States were sharply refuted in the Norwegian-American newspaper, *Emigranten*, for May 27, 1861.

¹⁴ *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, May 3, 1861. An immigrant letter in the same paper for December 9, 1861, tells of an unsuccessful attempt by an agent named Haugan to persuade more than a hundred Norwegian immigrants to take land in the vicinity of Ottawa. This seems to have been the main Trondhjem group. A fuller account of this affair is published in the same newspaper for April 7, 1862.

little colony has been characterized as the saddest chapter in Norwegian-American history.¹⁵ In the light of the initial difficulties and hardships that some groups of early Norwegian settlers in the upper Mississippi Valley were compelled to meet, this characterization is probably an exaggeration. There is no doubt, however, that the Gaspé colonists had a very unhappy experience, that the colony failed and its members dispersed after the winter of 1861-1862, and that in addition to difficulties of climate, land, and employment were financial troubles for which Closter himself seems to have been largely responsible. He had bought a tract of fifteen hundred acres some fourteen miles from the village and also a smaller tract, with a saw-mill and a flour mill, nearer Gaspé. Evidently there was a plan for organized effort, for one emigrant was made manager of the workers. There were also rumors of lead deposits and future mining operations on Closter's lands.¹⁶ Some of the colonists were optimistic. "For my part," wrote Bertha E. Kloster to a relative in Norway in October, "I like Gaspé much better than any place I have been before and I don't doubt you would do as well here as there."¹⁷ The shadow of disappointment soon lay over the colony, however. Closter gathered up from the trusting colonists about twelve hundred dollars and set off for Quebec to buy supplies; but as the long and icy winter months passed no supplies arrived, nor did he return. The settlers for the most part failed to get work for wages and were soon in such want that a public subscription was taken up for them at Gaspé. In March the Quaker Shieldstream wrote Asbjørn Kloster that Dietrichson had been right, that no emigrants should be advised to go to Gaspé; and he branded the missing Closter as untruthful and un-Christian. He himself, he said in a later letter, was the only colonist who was satisfied—and his peace of mind came from the fact that he had escaped from worse conditions in his native land than those that confronted him at Gaspé.¹⁸ A colonist's letter published in Norway in the fall of 1862 charges Closter with having used part of the money to pay off private debts, but states that finally he did send supplies, though some of the colonists received nothing in return for their money. Closter's wife, who was "sick with sorrow," was said to have mortgaged her own property in order to aid the needy settlers.¹⁹

Closter probably initiated the enterprise with honest intentions, since he was willing to risk the welfare of his own family and relatives. It is clear, however, that the colony was mismanaged, whether wilfully or merely as a result of ineptitude. The entire story is not revealed in the available contemporary records, but at any rate the colony collapsed. Most of its members went West; Closter himself, with his family, was in Chicago in 1864; Shieldstream removed to Norwich, Canada West, and in 1867, writing to ascertain the whereabouts of Closter, he said, "I have nothing against him, and I am very glad to say that he has done right to me, and I don't write for [the] sake of hurting him." He was inclined to think that the colonists made a mistake when they abandoned Gaspé in favour of the West.²⁰

¹⁵ H. R. Holand, "Gaspé. Et trist blad i vor nybyggarsaga," in *Symra*, 5: 2-8 (1909).

¹⁶ Nils O. Kloster to A. Kloster from "Gaspé Basin," October 25, 1861, in Kloster Papers.

¹⁷ To her sister, October 25, 1861, in Kloster Papers.

¹⁸ Shieldstream to Kloster, March 15, 1862, March 18, 1863, in Kloster Papers. A letter of Andrew Closter, March 8, 1862, mentions the death of a son of Christopher at Gaspé the preceding November.

¹⁹ *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis*, October 6, 1862.

²⁰ Shieldstream to A. Kloster, January 8, 1867; Endre and Niels Kloster to A. Kloster, October 27, 1864, in Kloster Papers.

The Gaspé project was widely discussed in Norway in a period when interest in emigration was widespread, and its failure was not soon forgotten. In 1867 the British-American Land Society, backed by the shipping firm of A. Sharpe and Company, offered to set aside twenty thousand acres of land in Canada for a Norwegian colony selling it in fifty-acre lots at \$2.50 an acre, requiring immigrants to pay only interest for the first three years and thereafter the capital in six annual installments. The company even promised to contribute \$200 a year for three years to the salary of a minister and to give land for a church and a parsonage if as many as one hundred families joined the colony. But the proposal was quickly attacked in Norwegian newspapers, which reminded readers that Canadian settlement by Norwegian groups had had no success, and incidentally warned emigrants against doing business with private land companies instead of with the Canadian Government.²¹ Probably many prospective emigrants were skeptical about the advisability of paying a Canadian company \$2.50 an acre for land when at the same time the Homestead Law was in full operation in the United States.

A happier chapter in the saga of Norwegian immigration to Canada was to come, but not until the Prairie Provinces of the Canadian Northwest became the magnet—a magnet that exerted a strong influence not only upon Norwegians in the American Middle West but also upon dwellers in the valleys and along the coasts of the Viking North, impelling thousands to join hands with the pioneers of Canada in exploiting the rich resources of an imperial domain.

²¹ *Morgenbladet*, February 4, 15, 1867. See also a Canadian land advertisement in the same paper for October 2, 1865.

ALEXANDRE MENUT,

CUISINIER ET DÉPUTÉ

PAR FRANCIS J. AUDET

Pour diriger la politique de la province française de Québec les premiers gouverneurs anglais durent avoir recours à des secrétaires de langue française. Les lois de la Grande-Bretagne ne permettaient pas alors aux Canadiens de servir la patrie en cette qualité, à cause du fameux serment du test que l'on exigeait de tous les fonctionnaires. Nos premiers gouvernants durent donc employer des huguenots français ou des Suisses protestants. C'est ce qu'ils firent. Ils furent également obligés de requérir les services de Français pour remplir les charges non moins importantes, certes, de cuisiniers ou de maîtres d'hôtel. L'homme ne vit pas seulement de pain—surtout au Canada où le climat demande une plus substantielle nourriture. Avant même que de songer au gouvernement d'une nation, il faut vivre, c'est-à-dire manger. C'est le cas de dire avec Harpagon: il faut manger pour vivre. Or, chacun sait que l'on ne peut faire bonne chère sans l'aide de la cuisine française. Cet aphorisme est si clair, si évident, qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de le démontrer: c'est un axiome. De plus, pour aller à la provision, ne fallait-il pas quelqu'un qui pût se faire comprendre des marchands et des cultivateurs canadiens? Et n'en déplaise aux dévôts du *parisian french*, notre héros parisien et les Québécois s'entendaient fort bien. Ce furent là, sans doute, les raisons d'ordre majeur qui motivèrent l'emploi d'Alexandre Menut par le général Murray, premier gouverneur de Québec.

Le chef se mit à sa besogne avec entrain, y déploya une patience et une ingéniosité dignes de l'art divin (c'est ainsi qu'il l'estimait) dont tous les secrets lui étaient connus et il produisit des plats tout à fait convenables à un palais gubernatorial.

Mais notre héros était ambitieux et voulait parvenir. Il quitta donc la cuisine du Château Saint-Louis, après avoir terminé son engagement, et il ouvrit une hôtellerie à Québec. C'était alors une industrie payante. Il prospéra, probablement au delà de ses espérances premières, mais l'appétit vient en mangeant, comme dit le proverbe. De traiteur, il devint marchand, puis propriétaire et, enfin, suprême satisfaction, député au parlement.

De la cuisine du Château Saint-Louis au parlement provincial, voilà donc le joli pas franchi par ce Vatel canadien venu au pays comme nous l'avons dit en qualité de cuisinier du gouverneur James Murray et qui remplit aussi pendant quelque temps les mêmes importantes fonctions chez le général Guy Carleton. Ayant obtenu, en 1768, un permis de vendre des liqueurs spiritueuses et des vins, il ouvrit "à l'enseigne de la Couronne, rue du Parloir, au-dessus de l'Evêché, à la Haute Ville", une taverne où les clients était assurés "d'être servis exactement, et de la meilleure façon Angloise et François au nouveau goût, à un prix raisonnable". M. Menut allait aussi servir à domicile "petit ou grand repas, Club ou Mess".

Le voilà donc le pied à l'étrier (si l'on peut ainsi s'exprimer en parlant cuisine et pot au feu) et la route du succès lui est largement ouverte. Les recettes sont bonnes, les écus s'empilent. Mais ce n'est pas sans peine, il faut trimer dur sept jours par semaine. Pour lui et sa femme, pas de repos

dominical, mais des repas constants: les clients mangent le dimanche comme la semaine. Sept bonnes années s'écoulèrent ainsi. Qui dira les bons potages, les hors d'œuvre appétissants, les succulents ragouts, les savoureux pâtés, les rôtis à point et les tartes exquis, que ce précurseur de Brillat-Savarin composa, prépara de ses mains habiles et servit à sa clientèle de gourmets qui devaient s'en poulécher! Mais l'histoire se répète en partie du moins, et comme dans le songe du pharaon, le malheur vint au bout de sept ans fondre sur l'établissement de Menut presque inopinément.

Les colonies américaines ayant levé l'étendard de la révolte, avaient envahi la province de Québec. Leurs armées victorieuses, après avoir réduit Montréal et les Trois-Rivières avaient paru devant Québec et y avaient dressé leurs tentes.

Le siège de la capitale vint interrompre les fructueuses opérations de Menut. Celui-ci avait, à cette époque, transporté son établissement sur la rue Saint-Jean, en dehors des murs. Cet endroit devint le rendez-vous de Montgomery et de ses officiers qui allaient s'y régaler, ce dont s'aperçut le commandant de la garnison. Les boulets anglais commencèrent dès lors à pleuvoir sur la malheureuse hôtellerie et ils y causèrent de gros dommages. Le 8 décembre 1775, Montgomery y descendant avait à peine quitté sa carriole qu'un boulet bien dirigé abattait son cheval.¹ L'heure du général américain n'avait pas encore sonné. Il avait encore trois semaines à vivre. On sait, en effet, qu'il fut tué dans la nuit du 31 décembre au cours de l'assaut à la basse-ville.

Les rebelles continuaient néanmoins de fréquenter l'hôtellerie de Menut et l'artillerie de la bombarder. Cela dura tout le mois de janvier et jusqu'à la fin de février.²

Que faisait le sieur Menut pendant ce temps? Qu'était-il devenu? Était-il passé au service de l'ennemi? Oh! non.

Quittant, temporairement, ses marmites vides et ses bouteilles pleines, à cause de la guerre qui mettait un lien à la bourse sinon un frein à l'appétit des gastronomes québécois, M. Menut s'était retiré en ville. Il échangea la cuiller à pot contre un fusil et prit part à la défense de la ville assiégée, comme simple milicien dans la compagnie numéro 2 de la milice canadienne de Québec. Il obtint plus tard un octroi de terre dans le canton de Simpson en récompense de sa bravoure et de ses services militaires.

Au mois de décembre 1776, il formulait auprès des autorités sa réclamation pour dommages soufferts durant le siège.³ Il se remit ensuite à sa besogne de tavernier et de marchand, rue Saint-Jean. Il paraît avoir fait de bonnes affaires. Nous le perdons ensuite de vue pendant une dizaine d'années. Le 21 juillet 1785, Menut annonçait, dans la *Gazette de Québec*, la vente de sa maison, dans les termes suivants: "A vendre par encan sur les Lieux, Par Sketchley & Freeman, Samedi le 30 du présent mois, toute cette commode Maison en pierre à trois étages, située sur la rue Saint-Jean, à Québec, occupée par le propriétaire, M. Menut. Elle a quarante pieds de front sur cinquante de profondeur, avec une cave excellente, deux puits, l'un dans la cuisine, l'autre dans la cave, et une cour. La vente commencera à midi.

"On peut être plus particulièrement informé en s'adressant aux dits Encanteurs ou à Mr. Menut, qui la fera voir.

¹ The Page diaries. Extraits cités dans "Picturesque Quebec", p. 231.

² Ibid.

³ *Gazette de Québec*, 12 déc. 1776.

“ Comme Mr. Menut va quitter la Province, il prie ceux qui lui doivent de payer leurs comptes, et ceux à qui il peut devoir de les produire pour être payés.”

Quelques mois plus tard, en octobre, il était au nombre des signataires de l'adresse présentée par les citoyens de Québec à l'honorable Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-gouverneur et administrateur sortant de charge.

La *Gazette de Québec*, du 27 mars 1786, annonçait que le brick *La Marie*, appartenant à M. Menut—et qui avait, l'année précédente, fait le voyage d'Halifax—était à vendre. C'était un fin voilier d'environ 160 tonneaux.

En septembre 1788, le sieur Jean Neuville demeurant chez M. Menut, marchand, rue Saint-Jean, annonce l'ouverture d'une école où il enseignera la langue française.⁴

M. Menut ayant cessé de tenir taverne, il fut remplacé par un autre Français, Charles-René Langlois, pâtissier et cabaretier, ci-devant de Paris, qui annonçait dans la *Gazette de Québec* qu'il venait d'ouvrir un nouvel hôtel: *The Constitutional Hotel*, près de l'Hôpital-Général, dans la maison qu'occupait auparavant M. Menut.

Menut fit-il le voyage qu'il semble avoir projeté? Nous n'avons pu nous en assurer. La *Gazette* ne mentionne ni son départ ni son retour à Québec.

Avant que de se présenter à la députation, Alexandre Menut, qui était un fin matois, prêta le serment d'allégeance à la couronne britannique, le vendredi 15 juin 1792, par devant MM. Thomas Dunn et Jenkin Williams, juges de la cour des Plaids communs. Il évita ainsi d'être mêlé à la discussion qui eut lieu en Chambre au sujet de certains députés que l'on ne croyait pas qualifiés à cause de leur nationalité française.

M. Menut représenta le comté de Cornwallis à l'Assemblée législative, du 20 juillet 1796 jusqu'à sa mort, mais il semble avoir quitté la ville au printemps de 1803, pour n'y pas revenir. S'absenta-t-il aussi du pays? Où et quand est-il mort? Voilà trois questions que nous n'avons pu résoudre. En tout cas, le dernier acte que nous avons de lui à Québec fut passé le 17 juin 1803, devant Me Félix Têtu, notaire. C'est une vente à Ignace Paradis, de l'emplacement angle des rues Saint-Jean et Saint-Stanislas, aujourd'hui occupé par le magasin de pianos Lavigueur et Hutchison. Le 12 juin 1804, le notaire N. B. Doucet, des Trois-Rivières, passa une procuration de Marie Deland, veuve d'Alexandre Menut, demeurant dans le canton Simpson (aujourd'hui Drummondville) et nommant Michel-Amable Berthelot d'Artigny, avocat, son procureur à Québec.⁵

M. Menut avait-il quitté Québec? Vivait-il retiré sur sa terre de Simpson? Les registres anglicans de Québec ne mentionnent pas sa mort et, comme le canton de Simpson n'avait pas de ministre résidant, n'étant encore qu'une simple mission, on n'y trouve pas de registres. En tout cas, Alexandre Menut repose auprès de sa femme à Simpson.⁶

La *Gazette de Québec*, du 13 janvier 1825, annonçait le décès, “ à Simpson, rivière Saint-François, le 9 décembre 1824, de dame Marie Menut, veuve de feu Alexandre Menut, ci-devant membre du parlement provincial pour l'île et comté d'Orléans.” C'est la veuve du député de Cornwallis. Il n'y eut pas de député Menut à l'île d'Orléans.

⁴ *Gazette de Québec*, 4 sept. 1788.

⁵ Notes obligeamment fournies par M. J.-A. Lavoie, des Archives judiciaires de Québec.

⁶ Note de M. Lavoie, obtenue de Madame A. R. Carson, de Danville, petite-fille de Menut.

D'après Madame Carson, dit M. Lavoie, Alexandre Menut est né à Paris d'une famille à l'aise, puisqu'elle avait des propriétés dans le quartier des Champs Elysées. Quoi qu'il en soit, Menut a dû épouser Marie Deland, élevée par sa famille, avant son départ de Paris pour le Canada ou, suivant d'autres, durant la traversée. Elle était beaucoup plus jeune que lui. La veuve Menut, ancienne patronne de l'hôtel de la "Couronne", devenue riche et demeurée accorte, se pavanait et jouait à la grande dame. Elle faisait bien les honneurs de chez elle et était très respectée à Simpson. Elle ne sortait qu'en carrosse traîné par deux vigoureux chevaux et on la saluait chapeau très bas.⁷

Le ménage Menut eut plusieurs enfants. Christophe, baptisé à l'église anglicane de Québec le 14 mars 1782 (le registre ne donne pas la date de naissance), suivit les classes du Séminaire de Québec, 1792 à 1795. Le 15 décembre 1808, il était nommé commissaire pour déferer le serment à ceux qui demandaient des concessions de terre dans Simpson et, le 30 juin 1812, au début de la guerre, une autre commission l'autorisait à recevoir le serment d'allégeance des gens de son canton. Il fut fait juge de paix le 30 juin 1815. Quinze ans plus tard, soit le 30 avril 1830, Christophe Menut était l'un des trois commissaires chargés d'ouvrir un chemin dans les cantons de Grantham et Wickham. Le 23 octobre suivant, il était nommé commissaire des petites causes à Drummondville et, le 21 décembre 1837, commissaire pour faire prêter le serment d'allégeance aux habitants de son canton. Il fut, comme on le voit, un homme assez en vue et il rendit d'utiles services à son pays.

Un autre fils, Alexandre, signait, le 6 juin 1796, une obligation garantissant les dettes qu'il pouvait avoir, avant que de s'absenter de la province. Un troisième, Isaac, fréquenta, lui aussi, les classes du Séminaire de Québec, de 1798 à 1801. William signa l'adresse présentée à Sir Robert Prescott, en 1799. Il obtint une concession de terre dans le canton d'Arthabasca le 30 septembre 1802. Il s'établit cultivateur dans Wendover et y épousa, le 17 juin 1819, Eleanor McLean, de Drummondville.

Un nommé James William (ou William James) Menut sollicita du gouvernement la location de plusieurs terres dans les cantons de Kingsey, Simpson, Wendover et Durham au cours des années 1808 et 1809 et en obtint quelques-unes. Le 20 mai 1831, il était nommé avec MM. Richard Beard, senior, et Daniel Moore, commissaire pour l'ouverture d'un chemin en arrière du canton de Shipton, c'est-à-dire dans celui de Kingsey et allant à la rivière Saint-François.

Henry Menut, qui fut député de Drummond de 1836 à 1838, était aussi, croyons-nous, fils d'Alexandre.

Revenons maintenant à notre député.

On trouve son nom parmi ceux qui demandent, en novembre 1790, la fondation d'une université dans la province.

Il était président du club Constitutionnel de Québec en novembre 1792. Un an plus tard, il souscrivait au fonds de secours prélevé en faveur des victimes de l'incendie de la rue du Sault-au-Matelot. La même année, Menut était l'un des directeurs de la Société du feu à Québec.

Un recensement fait par le curé de Notre-Dame de Québec, en 1795, mentionne Menut comme protestant tenant un magasin au numéro 19, rue Saint-Jean. Il y avait cinq personnes dans la maison dont un serviteur catholique.

⁷ Note de M. Lavoie.

Une annonce dans la *Gazette de Québec* du 26 novembre 1795, dit que le Théâtre Canadien se trouve situé au-dessus du magasin de Menut, 19, rue Saint-Jean.

Menut était devenu membre de la Société d'Agriculture en 1791, soit deux ans après sa formation. Il fut aussi l'un des signataires de l'adresse présentée à Sir Robert Prescott lors de son départ de Québec, en juillet 1799. Autre détail intéressant: c'est sur une motion de Menut (17 janvier 1801) que les députés obtinrent des pupitres en Chambre. Le samedi, 5 mars 1803, il demanda à la Chambre la permission de s'absenter pour quinze jours. Il n'y reparut plus.

Voici, pour terminer, deux intéressants extraits de la *Gazette de Québec* au sujet du sieur Menut. Le premier est une critique assez acerbe de la tenue de l'hôte à l'occasion d'un bal et d'un grand souper qui eurent lieu chez lui en 1778, pour célébrer l'anniversaire de la délivrance de Québec en 1776.

Mais il ne me sied pas de dire ici que la société québécoise, comme celle de Montréal dînait alors, en hiver, à quatre heures de l'après-midi, ou comme on disait alors, de relevée. C'est ce qui explique le bal à six heures du soir.

Après le départ des derniers vaisseaux, en novembre, le commerce de gros n'avait pratiquement plus rien à faire jusqu'à l'ouverture de la navigation au printemps suivant. L'hiver était donc la saison morte, la saison du repos pour le négoce, mais en revanche, celle des plaisirs, des dîners et des assemblées, c'est-à-dire des danses. Et l'on s'en donnait à cœur joie durant la saison. On savait vivre alors.

Gâté peut-être par les flatteries que lui valaient ses appétissants menus et ses sauces exquises, s'était-il imaginé être devenu un grand homme au point de négliger sa tenue réglementaire. Ou était-ce simplement le gonflement qui suit un succès?

“ QUÉBEC, le 8 janvier 1778.

“ Mercredi de la semaine dernière, jour de l'anniversaire de la victoire remportée sur les rebelles dans leur attaque de cette ville en 1775, les Messieurs qui ont servi dans la garnison pendant cet hiver mémorable, ont donné le bal le plus splendide et le plus élégant souper à la taverne de Menut; la compagnie de plus de deux cents trente personnes tant Dames que Messieurs faisoit le coup d'œil le plus brillant, la joie et la gaieté y régnèrent ensemble toute la nuit. Vers les six heures et demie du soir Son Excellence Messire GUY CARLETON, Chevalier du Bain, notre digne Gouverneur et notre heureux général, avec l'uniforme de la Milice (relevé du Ruban et de l'Etoile) ainsi que tous les Messieurs de ce corps qui ont servi sous lui pendant le Siège, entra dans la chambre du Bal, accompagné de Mylady Maria, &c., &c., le bal s'ouvrit aussitôt par Mylady Maria et l'Honorable Henri Caldwell, Ecuier, Lieutenant-colonel Commandant la Milice Britannique. On dança jusqu'à minuit et demi que les Dames furent conduites dans la chambre du Souper, où le Sieur Menut montra de nouvelles preuves de ses talents supérieurs dans l'art de traiter qu'il prétend à juste droit avoir sur ses pareils. Mais lorsque nous rendons justice à son mérite, en qualité de cuisinier, nous souhaitons qu'il se renferme dans son état—la cuisine; car l'on ne peut certainement ajouter rien au repas qui fut servi aux Dames par un valet crasseux, exactement habillé comme le bourreau dans la *Venise sauvée*, avec la différence considérable cependant que l'un paroît toujours avec un tablier blanc et un bonêt et l'autre justement le contraire.—La compagnie se retira vers les quatre heures du matin

entièrement satisfaite de la réjouissance, et tous en bonne humeur.—Puisse cette disposition continuer jusqu'au 31 Décembre prochain et les suivans et puisse chaque retour de ce jour glorieux (dont l'événement a non seulement conservé cette garnison, mais même toute la province) être célébré avec le même esprit d'union en reconnaissance de notre heureuse délivrance des embûches de nos ennemis et en remerciement des douceurs de la paix dont nous jouissons maintenant par l'heureux succès de ce jour."

Le coup était rude, mais notre héros n'était pas homme à reculer devant l'attaque. S'armant de sa plus belle plume, il se mit en devoir de riposter. La lettre qui suit montre que, si Menut ne savait manier la prose aussi prestement que son adversaire, il pouvait au moins essayer de le confondre au moyen d'une savoureuse compote poétique. Quoique ignorant l'art d'écrire, Menut n'en possédait pas moins l'esprit naturel et gouailleur de l'ouvrier parisien. Il avait aussi de l'oreille et ses rimes, sans être millionnaires, valaient bien, certes, celles de plus d'un décadent de nos jours.

"QUÉBEC, 29 janvier 1778.

"Mr. Limprimeur Le paragraphe inséré dans vostre gazette Du 8 janvier la Description De la fete celebrée a part Montre Lintention qua eut lauteur De Divertir et faire rire le public En me voulant tourner En ridicule je suis bien aise que Son peut De finesse n'aye pas reûsy dans Son projet Car la Comparaison et sy drole quant verité Cella fait plutot pitiez que rire et tres meseante pour Lislustre Compagnie qui y assistoit qui doit couvrir de confusion son propre auteur et son ouvrage et il peut apprendre que

un Cuisinier est par son art Divin
Cheri Des grands Des heros et Des belle
Et que le beau D'une fete immortelle
est Detre chantée en face du festin

Si Dans son art il a bien réussy
Le Dieu Comus aura Soin de Sa gloire
vous confondra et auteur et grimoire
et le Public Dira dieu grand merci

De vos pareil que voulez vous quon pense
Dors En avant Lon en fera grand Cas
un auteur fade est un tres mauvais plat
Mis a la porte Sera la recompense."

Le rédacteur de la *Gazette* ajoutait, à la suite de la riposte de Menut, la note suivante qui ne manque pas de verdeur:

"Nous avons inséré la complainte ci-dessus non pas tant dans la vue de divertir nos lecteurs, que dans celle de les convaincre de l'impartialité de notre Gazette; mais avant que de quitter cette matière pour toujours, nous prenons la liberté de dire à Monsieur Menut qu'au lieu de montrer le plus petit ressentiment contre nous pour avoir inséré le paragraphe dans lequel on lui faisoit allusion dans notre Gazette du 8 du présent, il auroit dû le considérer sous le même point de vue que l'auteur le donnoit, c'est à dire, comme un avis: et assurément malgré la déclamation ci-dessus en *Salmigondis*, nous trouvons qu'il en a profité, parceque le lundi suivant de la publication du dit paragraphe, il se montra non seulement en chemise et en bonnet blanc, mais encore avec un visage frais.

“ Nous ne voulons disputer ni l'antiquité ni la divinité de l'art de la cuisine, parceque c'est une matière trop raffinée et trop intriguée pour que nous nous en mêlions, nous ne prétendons pas non plus arracher à Mr. Menut cet applaudissement qu'il attend de son ami Comus; nous pensons seulement que l'art paroîtroit très divin et que Comus seroit très content si le cuisinier ne paroissoit pas tant qu'un Cyclope.”

On a dit que la vie est une comédie pour celui qui jouit et une tragédie pour celui qui pense. Menut appartenait à la catégorie des jouisseurs plutôt qu'à celle des penseurs. Cela ne l'empêcha pas de prendre la vie au sérieux. Il fut un rude travailleur et la récompense de son travail fut une belle aisance. En somme, ce fut un bien brave homme que ce cuisinier-député.

THE TRAPPIST MONKS AT TRACADIE, NOVA SCOTIA

By A. MURIEL KINNEAR

Religious and political jealousies tangle the skeins of many of the tapestries of life, but as the years glide on the kinks and snarls are forgotten and only the picture remains. The threads which tell the story of the Trappist monks in Nova Scotia may be dull in hue, but they form a lasting background for their many acts of charity and devotion.

With the closing of the series of hostilities which had sprung out of the French revolution and distressed all the nations of the world for many years, 1815 is memorable for the return of peace and the brighter outlook for trade in the colonies. Nova Scotia, the scene of so many conflicts between the French and English, had now laid aside her weapons of warfare and was ready to welcome all those seeking a home within her borders. The story of the years intervening between the landing of Father Vincent at Halifax in 1815 until the urgent call in 1914, when the Germans invaded Belgium and the Trappist Order, once driven out of France in exile, was able to send a contingent of sturdy trained men from their Nova Scotia home to defend the motherland during the Great War is interesting.

One fine day in May, just 115 years ago, a ship from New York appeared off Chebucto Head at the entrance to Halifax Harbour, her white sails gleaming in the spring sunshine. The passengers on board could see the last snows of winter melting on the surrounding hills; the high flagstaff and ramparts of the Citadel towering above the tall church spires of the city as she proceeded up the harbour to her wharf, carefully tacking in and out among the transports, men-o'-war and smaller trading craft of all kinds lying at anchor. On deck all was bustle and confusion, hurry and eager anticipation for landing after a voyage lasting for fifteen days.

Among the passengers a little band of Trappist monks sat quietly waiting to disembark. Driven out of France during the terrors of the revolution they had spent years of exile in the Southern States of America, seeking to gain a sanctuary and achieve their ambition to establish a monastery, but misfortune had followed them and when in 1812, Dom Urbain Guillet transferred his community of Trappists from Baltimore to Maryland he found Father Vincent and his greatly depleted band of followers in the direst misery, having undergone severe hardships, travelling about on foot for lack of money and having no settled establishment. Following the abdication of Napoleon Father Vincent and his little community were recalled to France. Settling up his affairs he embarked at New York on the first stage of his journey home. On their landing at Halifax the white cowl of the Cistercians was seen for the first time in Nova Scotia.

In Halifax Father Vincent had great difficulty in obtaining information as to when he could secure passages for himself and his followers to enable them to continue the journey, and was compelled to spend two weeks in searching for a vessel. The town was crowded with people anxious to return to Europe and all available accommodation was taken on the ships. At last he appealed to Father Burke, then pastor of the town and afterwards the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese. With his assistance and influence free passages were secured for the party on H.M.S. *Ceylon*, sailing shortly for England and they embarked with all their luggage which con-

sisted of seven trunks. Contrary winds delayed the sailing of the *Ceylon* and Father Vincent, finding waiting on board very irksome, came ashore again to do some trifling business or perhaps to say a last word of thanks to Father Burke. Suddenly the wind veered to a more favourable quarter and the captain of the transport weighed anchor and put out to sea. Later, when the good Father arrived at the waterfront to go aboard he was greatly astonished to find he had lost his passage, his companions and all his luggage. So perforce, he found himself stranded in a strange country, without money and without friends. Nothing daunted he looked upon what might have seemed the worst sort of calamity to others, as a direct act of Providence and again resorted to Father Burke requesting that he be allowed to do some work in the parish until he could communicate with his Superior in France and, if possible, obtain his permission to remain in Nova Scotia to carry on the work he had not been successful in establishing in America. He found much to occupy him. For one month he was entirely alone in the parish as Father Burke having gone to Ireland had given him charge of parochial duties. Knowing but little English made his work more difficult, but in spite of his slight knowledge he preached twice in that language in St. Peter's Church to large congregations composed principally of Irish.

Following his interest in the native Indians he journeyed about the country to outlying districts and spent much time in the Micmac camps, teaching and instructing them. Finding a large number of Acadians settled at Chezzetcook he was naturally drawn to them and often went there, either by sea or overland on horseback. On one occasion when at Chezzetcook during the Feast of St. Anne, which is a great festival among the Indians, he records in a diary, he kept over 200 Micmacs, coming from a circuit of ten to fifteen miles, assembled at the church, making a very imposing spectacle in their beaded costumes and bright coloured shawls. The church being too small to hold them all they grouped themselves outside to listen to the service.

Later, on the return of Father Burke, Father Vincent was sent further afield and given charge of three parishes composed of Acadians. Having received the necessary permission from France to remain in Nova Scotia he left for Tracadie, which with Pomquet and Havre au Bouché comprised his parish, situated on the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the northeastern part of the province. Making Tracadie his headquarters and place of residence, he purchased a large tract of land in a beautiful valley about twenty miles from Antigonish in 1818, where he built a house. At Pomquet he found a numerous colony of negroes, descendants of the Maroons brought to Nova Scotia from Jamaica in 1796, who had escaped from the main body when they were deported to Sierra Leone and were now living in scattered settlements. Here Father Vincent found a vast field in which to exercise his zeal. The Negroes, he reported, "being in a most deplorable condition." There was also a large camp of Indians.

The name Tracadie is Indian meaning "place of residence", and was used to denote any particular place or camping ground. The original Micmac word was "Telegadik," converted by mispronunciation into the Tracadie of the present day. There is a tradition that the name was derived from one Jacques Tracadie, the captain of a crew who came to the harbour for the purpose of buying cordwood and trading with the Indians, but as the name is given to so many places where the Indians had large camps the Micmac origin is more acceptable as correct. The islands in Tracadie harbour were settled by the Indians long before the white man ever took possession of Nova Scotia; the beauty of their groves of magnificent trees

and the convenience to land and sea proved them a veritable happy hunting ground for the red men. The earliest permanent Acadian settlement was about 1773, when some of the exiles of the Expulsion returned from the Island of Miquelon and settled on the shores of St. George's bay in what is now one of the four divisions of Antigonish county.

In October, 1821, Father Vincent wrote his Superior in France that his work was progressing favourably and that he had obtained permission from the Mother Superior of the Congregation at Montreal to send three of the young girls from his parish to receive instruction, gratis, in the Community of Notre Dame. They were Anne Cotié and Marie Landry of Tracadie and Olive Victoire Dorian of Pomquet, all Acadians whose ancestors had come from St. Malo, Dinan and Granville to settle in New France. The following June he wrote to Father Plessis of Quebec from the Magdalen Islands where he escorted the girls on the way to Montreal, that he is sending them on to Quebec with Captain Doucett, "whose crew are all honest men."

Realizing the need of schools in his parishes he petitioned the Congregation of Notre Dame to send two or three Sisters to open a school, but they were unable to do so. After a year's novitiate the three novices returned and Father Vincent at once settled them at Pomquet until a residence could be built for them at Tracadie. Here they followed the Community life and instructed the Indian and Acadian girls. At the same time he had secured the services of John Steven, a well educated Catholic-Irishman, as master of the boy's school.

The next year, just when everything was going well, a letter came from France advising Father Vincent that it would be better for him to arrange his affairs, give up his parish in Nova Scotia and proceed to Kentucky where Bishop Flaget wished him to locate. This was a tremendous blow. Once more he appealed to Bishop Plessis, explaining the value of the work he was doing and asking that he intercede on his behalf. The Bishop replied that as he had accomplished so much in the five years he had been in Tracadie it would be well for him to go to France himself, explain the situation to his Superior and obtain the support necessary to establish his Monastery. Acting on this advice Father Vincent left his parish in charge of Mr. Hudon and sailed for France. After an absence of two years he returned, provided with full permission to carry on his project and accompanied by Father Francis, a native of Freiburg, and three lay-brothers.

In November, 1826, Father Vincent petitioned Sir James Kempt, then Lieutenant-Governor of the province, for leave to carry on his work and establish a Monastery of the Cistercian Order at Tracadie; cultivate the soil and instruct the people under his charge and protection. The petition granted, his real work began.

The house he had built at Tracadie became known as the Monastery of Petit Clairvaux and he himself was its first Prior. At this time three more lay-brothers were admitted, two from Halifax and one from the United States. They observed all the rules of the Order, having spiritual exercises with studies, solitary reading and meditation. They went about their daily tasks in silence, clothed in habits of coarse cloth bound by wide leather straps or wooden girdles and slept, fully dressed, on hard straw mattresses in dormitories where each had a separate cell partitioned off from the others. They lived on a vegetable diet with cereals and milk, no fish, meat or eggs being allowed except in cases of illness. Possessions of the Monastery were common property; there was no "mine" or "thine," for being of one

heart and soul they never referred to any possession as personal property, but shared all things in common. There was never a holiday in the routine, even Christmas and Easter being spent as ordinary days. Idleness being considered injurious to the mind, they were fully occupied with manual labour in the fields and with hours of devotion. Being most hospitable a warm welcome was always accorded any guest seeking admittance.

With the passing years the work went slowly on. In 1839 besides the French, Irish and Scotch in his schools, Father Vincent had some negroes and one Indian, "the latter," he states, "making fine progress in Latin." He reports the Community of Sisters as equally edifying, their work extending to other settlements. They were occupying the Convent house at Tracadie. Having many boarders among the pupils the house had become too small so an addition was built, the records say, in nine days. This was known as the Convent of Notre Dame de Grace at Tracadie. The Sisters numbered eight or nine and taught sewing, embroidering, the making of artificial flowers as well as the usual school subjects. They also laboured in the fields, milked the cows and attended to the stock on the farm.

In 1837 Father Vincent relinquished his three parishes to concentrate his efforts on the growth and welfare of the Monastery. His capacity for work was immense. Never appearing in a hurry he accomplished his manifold tasks with masterly ease. The old people of the parishes recounted his innumerable acts of zeal and devotion, venerating him as a Saint and firmly believing that no harm could befall him. Not only his own congregation, but the whole community benefitted by the example set by the Prior of Petit Clairvaux, whose life was lived for others.

Once into the quiet, industrious life of the Community peeped romance, unexpected but none the less alluring. Every day, with beating heart and eyes peering from beneath his cowl, one of the brothers watched the slim figure of a village maid come up the road to collect her can of milk and pats of yellow butter. Demure and shy was she—one would not have guessed that she too was seeking out with bright eyes the figure of one especial white-habited worker in the fields. But so it was, and, at last through the wordless telegraph of heart and eyes and unable to continue his duties, the brother confessed to his Prior that he had come to love the girl and wished to relinquish his habit and marry her. The Prior being sympathetic and there being no rule to prevent, accepted his resignation and the one-time brother left the Monastery, settled down in the village as a benedict and, as in all true romances, lived happily ever after.

The Monastery was now a snug brick building with cut stone facings and having a regular monastic quadrangle in the centre. One of the Monks made several trips to Europe between 1858 and 1862, returning each time with recruits from Westmalle and Saint Sixte to increase the strength of the community. The small pioneer mission had developed into a flourishing establishment with one of the finest farms in the province and having grist, saw and carding mills attached to it. Under Father Vincent's wise guidance the Monastery had grown to a splendid institution and when, on New Year's Day, 1853, he was called to his reward, the people sadly mourned him. He had been born at Lyons, France, the 29th day of October, 1763, son of Charles Merle, a much respected physician of that place. In April, 1798, when the Revolution was terrorizing and devastating France, he was privately ordained by the Archbishop of Vienne and seven years later entered the Trappist Order, relinquishing his name of James Merle to take that by which he was ever afterwards known. So greatly was he

venerated that in cases of serious illness journeys were made to his grave for a handful of the covering earth from that hallowed place which the people felt had special healing properties to cure the afflicted.

As Prior, Father Vincent was succeeded by Father Francis who had accompanied him from France in 1825, but whose advanced years and infirmities obliged him to resign his office within five years to Father James, a native of Belgium. The discovery of a spring of very cold water in one of the pastures of the Monastery is credited to Father James.

In 1876 the Monastery was raised to the dignity of an Abbey by Pius IX, and affiliated with La Grande Trappe, France. Dom Benoit, Abbot of Gathsemani, Kentucky, was appointed Visitor. The Sisters, about fifteen in number, were given the opportunity of joining the Order but refused and in 1888, they gave their buildings over to the monks with the understanding that they themselves should be cared for until their deaths. They all lived to over eighty years of age, one dying at a hundred and two years. The first Mother Abbess, Anne Cotie, died in 1877, aged eighty, and the last surviving Sister, Osite Lavandin of Havre au Bouché, died December 21, 1917, aged eighty-one. As the life of the Trappistines did not appeal to many and as other Orders took up the work in the parishes, the Community died with the dying members. A portion of the old convent still remains on the original site, but it has been converted into a residence. When closing the convent a copy of Father Vincent's Journal was found among the books where it had been lying perdue for years. It is very voluminous, being kept by Father Vincent when in America. On his visit to France in 1824 it was printed at the private press at Bellefontaine and the copy found at Tracadie is now in the keeping of the Monks at La Trappe, Quebec.

In 1886 the Community at Petit Clairvaux amounted to eleven choir religious, fourteen novices, one oblate and twenty choir-brothers. At its best the Community numbered about forty, thirteen of whom were priests, and a host of labourers.

Father James had been succeeded by Father Dominique as Prior and under his government the Monastery flourished until 1892, when a disastrous fire consumed the greater part of the principal buildings, including the pretty little church with its sacred vessels and vestments; the valuable library containing the records of the Community and all the furniture. Starting about one o'clock in the morning the fire was not discovered until the monks rose at two o'clock as usual and found an old wooden building adjoining the Monastery in flames. This was the original house built by Father Vincent himself and used as a dormitory for the workmen. The flames spread very rapidly and soon caught the main building. An alarm was given at once, all the monks and guests hurrying to the spot where they worked strenuously to keep the flames under control. They had no way of fighting the fire but by little buckets of water carried from the mill-brook near by and passed from hand to hand. The wind being against them these efforts proved futile and the fire got quite beyond control. Exhausted by their vain efforts they could only fold their arms and stand by while the fire consumed their beloved retreat. Everything was destroyed except the mills, barns and live-stock. The estimated loss was \$60,000 no insurance being carried. Some of the Brothers were so exhausted by their efforts to save some at least of the furniture and books that they fell ill and never regained their health. With the Monastery a clock, made and installed by Father Benedict of Father Vincent's Community, was destroyed. It had operated three dials in widely separated parts of the building: one in the

community room or refectory, one in the tower exposed to public view and the third in the church. Brother Benedict, besides being an exemplary monk, was a mechanical genius and had installed all the complicated machinery in the mills. The poor Abbot was greatly pitied as he stood disconsolate the following day, looking at the labours of years reduced to a heap of cinders in a few hours.

For about a month after the disaster the monks were unable to observe their rules. They slept in a loft over the grist-mill and took their meals in a tent they had pitched in one of the fields. The people of the surrounding district provided everything necessary for clothing and bedding. As it was October, with winter rapidly approaching, they made all haste to provide a temporary dwelling. They fitted up as best they could an old building which had been used as a carriage shed. Here they partitioned off regular places and immediately began to observe their usual religious duties. They passed five years in this poor abode suffering severely during the winters.

In the summer of 1893 Rev. Father Jean Marie, Abbot of Notre Dame de Bellefontaine, France, made his regular visit to Tracadie. With his advice and encouragement preparations were made for the reconstruction of the monastery. Plans were drawn up by Mr. O'Donahue, an architect of Antigonish, which provided for three wings of a large monastery, allowing for 350 feet of building in all. As much of the brick and stone from the old building as possible was utilized, the remainder of the brick necessary to complete the building was made by the monks and the stone was quarried by them. The buildings proved very unsatisfactory. They appeared very nice on paper, but when finished had the appearance of a big mill or factory and were spoken of as a poor, hasty job. In 1894 the exterior of the three wings was completed. The church, which was to have formed the fourth side of the hollow square, was never completed. Before the interior could be finished another disaster overtook them. In 1897 the remaining buildings of the monastery were destroyed by a conflagration even more unfortunate than the first. This time they were burned out of the temporary abode where they had lived and were obliged to take refuge in the unfinished new building. Here they suffered great hardship during the following winter. Having lost all their provisions and crops they were even worse off than before. An October chill was in the air, first frosts had touched the maples with a magic wand until they flamed crimson and gold on the hills; the birds had left and the earth was hardening in anticipation of the coming of its snow mantle. The deeper chill of winter crept into the hearts of the monks in the empty buildings, froze the bread and water of their meagre meals, while the snow and icy blasts of winter gales whistled round them as uncomplainingly they carried on. Inured to hardships and fasting a more rigorous diet made little difference and spring was always ahead. Three of the brothers died in quick succession, their death hastened by the cold and hardships. In this last fire all their sources of revenue were cut off, the mills being destroyed. The huge barns filled with all the crops of the season, hay, grain, vegetables and mangles for the cattle, were all lost. The hen houses with about two hundred hens had also been burned. Two beautiful thoroughbred horses perished but ten horses and all the cows escaped and roamed at liberty in the fields and woods for several weeks until they could be herded together in a rough enclosure, where the brothers cared for them under very trying circumstances. A number of swine kept under the barn had managed to get out of their pens, but in wandering about the ground many of them fell over the bridge into the mill dam and

were drowned. Once more the people of the district surrounding the Monastery had come to the rescue and showed every charity and kindness in bringing clothing and provisions and giving their labour gratis.

Discouraged by all these misfortunes and with his health very much impaired, Father Dominique resigned. He returned to Belgium accompanied by four of the brothers. He is still remembered by the people of Tracadie who speak of him with almost lyric admiration, saying "Father Dominique, he was the farmer! He knew how to make his fields yield tremendous crops of hay and mangles, and fond he was of heavy draught horses and thoroughbred cattle." Under his regime they had built up a regular demonstration farm, practising, as a matter of course the rotation of crops and drainage. During the Great War, being obliged to retreat before the German invasion, the Community he was with went to Sept Sous, France, where he died January 18, 1919.

The General Chapter of the Order placed the Monastery at Tracadie under the jurisdiction of Dom Antoine Oyer, Abbot of Notre Dame du Lac, Quebec, in 1898. He immediately sent his Prior, Rev. John Mary Murphy, to act as Superior at Petit Clairvaux. The new Superior found Tracadie a most uncongenial place for a Monastery. Taking heed of the scanty resources of the place and the lack of vocations, he considered it would be extremely difficult for a Community, reduced to such circumstances as was Petit Clairvaux, to subsist in Nova Scotia. He, therefore, for these and other well grounded reasons, solicited and obtained permission to transfer the Community to Lonsdale, Rhode Island, where he had purchased a farm from the Right Reverend Matthew Harkin, Bishop of Providence. Two of the brothers went to Oka, the remaining fifteen to Lonsdale.

The closing of the Monastery at Tracadie was a real calamity to the district as they had operated their grist mills, shingle and board mills and manufactured bricks and lime from material on the property greatly to the benefit of the community. At Lonsdale they established the Monastery of Our Lady of the Valley and, after years of patient toil in a sparsely settled section of the State, have just completed a chapel constructed out of the blue-grey granite hewn from quarries on their property. In strict silence, side by side, they toiled and laboured in quarrying and building until at last, after twenty-five years of effort they have attained the seemingly impossible through unity of purpose, keeping up the tradition and reputation of the Order throughout the centuries for the beauty of their buildings in the chapel which contains fourteen altars and reflects all the mystical dignity of a medieval cathedral.

In 1903 the Monastery at Tracadie took on a new phase of life when Dom Bernard Chavaliere, Abbot of Thymadeuc, Brittany, fearing the effects of impending religious persecution and the expulsion of the Trappists from France, looked, unsuccessfully, for a refuge in England. He wrote to the Abbot of Oka to enquire about Petit Clairvaux. After a consultation with Father Murphy, to whom he was referred, he purchased the property for \$10,000 and sent a contingent of twelve monks under Father Eugene, as Prior, to open the house and prepare it to receive about fifty others who might have to abandon France. They left Thymadeuc, crossed England to Liverpool and sailed on the 13th of June for Halifax where they arrived on the 20th. Reaching their new home the following day they settled in the Monastery at once. With their coming the white cowl of the Cistercians was again seen.

On his arrival Father Eugene found the Monastery, which was only an empty carcase, a mere roof upon walls; a cow shed, a little bakery in the

yard and a very dilapidated Porter-house, standing. They soon fitted up the Monastery sufficiently to make it suitable to live in; built a woodhouse and large mill sheltering a grist and shingle mill, with carpenter shops, forge and new ovens. Then they pulled down the old Porter-house and erected a new one; built a brick tower at the west angle of the Monastery and a bakery and laundry across the brook. On a hill near the road facing St. George's bay they planted a large wooden cross. That they worked hard can be judged by the extent of labour expended on the fields and about the brook and buildings which remain standing.

Father Eugene died in 1908 and was replaced by Father Brieve, formerly Prior of Thymadeuc. Several more buildings were erected and the construction of the church planned, but Father Brieve was recalled to France and a second Father Dominic took his place. On his arrival he kept the usual routine going without trying to carry out any new schemes. The little Community now consisted of eleven monks and nine lay-brothers. Nobody in the country showed any serious desire to join the Community and recruits were few. The French Government did not interfere with the Trappists as had been anticipated; so no more were sent out from France.

When the Great War broke out in 1914, all the monks capable of bearing arms were called to the colours in France, being trained soldiers, to stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in battle and save their kindred from destruction. After the war it was found that so many of the Order had been killed or incapacitated that they were short handed at home and the little Community remaining at Tracadie was summoned to the Mother House at Thymadeuc. The century-old establishment of Petit Clairvaux, in the lovely vale of Tracadie, was finally closed in July, 1919. Father Dominic was instructed to dispose of the property. He vainly tried to induce some religious order to purchase it at an exceptionally low price, but without success. Later a Montreal broker bought it for \$25,000, selling it shortly afterwards to a company of Italians of Sydney, Nova Scotia.

In 1926 Father Dominic revisited Tracadie and exhumed the deceased members of his Order from the Monastery graveyard, three priests and four brothers who had died in the last sixteen years, and transferred them to the Community at Oka, Quebec. In 1928 the remains of all the deceased members of Father Vincent's Community, thirty-nine in number, were removed from the Monastery graveyard to the cemetery beside the parish Church at Tracadie and interred in a common grave. The little graveyard beside the Monastery where there had always been an open grave waiting as a daily reminder of the brevity of life, was deserted, its occupants with their headstone crosses resting no longer in the soil they loved.

With the departure of Father Dominic after his last sad visit, the Trappist Order left Nova Scotia permanently. Only the huge, lonely, buildings survived as mute witnesses to their energy and zeal. The dim halls and lofty ceilinged rooms in their silent emptiness have an atmosphere eloquent of regret for the times and people who have passed on. The summer air is embalmed with the scent of wild roses and cooled by salty breezes blowing in from the sea to that calm solitude where time slipped away for:

"Men whose lives glided on like
rivers that water the woodlands,
Darkened by shadows of earth,
but reflecting an image of Heaven."

The chapel bell is still. Only the siren of a passing train a mile away or the horn of a motor on the nearer highway disturbs the peace that

rests and broods above the fields about the deserted Monastery, now fast becoming a heap of ruins which in time will be visited as a shrine of silence and desolation. Perchance on moonlight nights a wisp of fog, drifting in from sea, will appear like a ghostly habit and cowl covering the saintly spirit of Father Vincent or the broken heart of Father Dominique, looking over the ruins of their lost hopes. The cross stands tall and triumphant above the uncultivated fields and lonely forests where silence reigns, unfathomable, as in the hearts of the unselfish men who laboured there. Pine trees keep up their solemn dirge over the Monastery which awaits the coming of those who will waken it into life again, remaining faithful to the past, unable to take part in the present.

CROWFOOT: THE GREAT CHIEF OF THE BLACKFEET

By F. W. HOWAY

The Blackfoot confederacy was composed of the Blackfeet proper, the Bloods, and the Piegans, tribes that from time immemorial were roving buffalo hunters. The ground gave them, it is true, their camas and their native tobacco; the buffalo supplied them with everything else. The horse, which they had as early as 1754, enabled them to reach out over the prairies and the gun, which came to them with the first traders, gave them promise both of food and of protection. Amongst all the plains Indians none had a deeper feeling of ownership of their lands nor a greater jealousy of any interference with their possession of their country.

Amongst these people one name stands out pre-eminent,—that of Crowfoot. No one can read the story of the western prairies during the years 1871-1890 without meeting that name over and over again. Further acquaintance with his life and work engenders a deep admiration of this statesman in paint and blanket.

According to Blackfoot chronology Crowfoot was born in 1830. His father MANY NAMES belonged to the gens or clan SESE KSIS TSI MOX that is: the clan with the marked arrows, a name derived from their custom of heating some object and impressing it upon their arrows. The superiority of the clan in athletic sports won for it the popular name of TSI KI NAKO, the Mocassin clan.

CROWFOOT'S first name was KA YE STAR OH or Bear Ghost. He early felt himself chosen to lead his people into the paths of peace; for "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war". In justification of this belief it is said that in a vision a supernatural being, the Buffalo man, appeared to him and told him that he was to be the Father of his people; and he always claimed that a pair of calf-skin leggings usually worn by him were a present from the Buffalo man in token of that promise. He interpreted the vision as meaning that he would become not a war-chief but one who by maintaining peace and order would unify his people and bring to them happiness and prosperity.

As he grew to years of discretion, being a man of fine physique, fearless, and of keenest observation he was selected for important scout duty and similar work on which the success and the very lives of a war-party depend. So competent did he prove himself that the older men learned to repose confidence in his ability, even to the extent of relying implicitly upon his plans of warfare.

Then came the time when Crowfoot occasionally though not a war-chief led his own war parties. His fair and open conduct on such occasions marked him as an unusual Indian leader. His braves found it difficult to understand his humanity in those bitter inter-tribal encounters. Once in the almost interminable struggle that went on between Blackfoot and Cree he and his band surprised their opponents, sound asleep. Crowfoot detecting the odor of their dying camp fires called out: "Come on you plain smokers, let's have a smoke!" The startled Crees awoke; the fight commenced; and the Crees were overpowered. After reprimanding his prisoners for commencing a fight after his invitation to smoke, he released them, much to the disgust of his warriors who would gladly have brought Cree scalps home in triumph.

The following incident shows another quality; fearlessness. In a fight, the main body of the Crees were lying in ambush in a wood. Though Crowfoot knew this he hesitated not to follow his antagonist who retreated into the wood; he caught his man, struck him down, and returned to his own men unscathed.

Amongst the Blackfeet the horse occupied a position but little inferior, economically, to that of the buffalo. Having horses in plenty those Indians were yet anxious to add more to their numbers, and they cared not a whit as to the means. Horse stealing was a regular activity and the young bloods almost vied with each other in the occupation. One day these young thieves returned with horses stolen from the Stoneys. As soon as Crowfoot heard of the crime he proceeded to collect all the stolen animals, and by his orders Running Rabbit and other chiefs returned them to their rightful owners. A little later a party of Blackfeet under Eagle Ribs brought in a band of horses stolen from half-breeds. Again Crowfoot caused the animals to be gathered in and returned to their real owners, except one, a roan. That horse Eagle Ribs had appropriated to himself, and he expressed his determination to fight for its retention. Feeling that the attempt to reclaim it would create a serious disturbance, Crowfoot compensated the owner for its loss, and thus secured peace. Those are only two instances out of many that could be cited in which he strove to break up the habits of theft that had been in his people from the beginning. Such conduct, so contrary to Indian ethics—one might almost say Indian tradition—did not, of course, go unchallenged; for though some of his tribe began to learn respect for their neighbours' rights and property, others were highly incensed at such Quixotism. His life was threatened more than once but, fearlessly, he continued his course. Some even attempted to kill him. He evaded their attacks, reasoned them into a calmer mood, used diplomacy, placated with gifts—an almost infallible remedy amongst them,—or in desperate cases met force with force.

The advent of the first white settlers, the early faltering steps of agriculture, the decreasing herds of buffalo, made it plain to him that the old order was passing away. He saw that the Indian must conform his life to the new conditions; and he strove to impress upon his people the necessity of looking to the land for their support. The land fed the white man, under similar treatment it would feed the red man. He set himself to the task of changing his tribe from men who lived upon the gun to men who lived upon the spade.

But with the advent of the white man came, as always, the white man's vices—against which Crowfoot was powerless. American traders brought intoxicating liquor to the Blackfeet, and soon reduced the proud and powerful people to poverty. Their horses decreased, their wealth shrank, and their moral fibre was completely undermined by the traders' whiskey. One man could do nothing against that vile flood. Then, in 1874, the North West Mounted Police established themselves at Fort MacLeod and waged incessant war upon the whiskey traders in Forts Whoop-up, Stand-off, Slide-out, and other lawless strongholds.

In "Forty Years in Canada", p. 79, Sir Samuel Steele tells of the visit of Crowfoot to Fort Macleod soon after the arrival of the force. The commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, explained that the police had come to maintain order and enforce the law, regardless of whether the offender were red or white. At the conclusion of his remarks, he says, p. 80: "Crowfoot, the personification of grace, rose and shook hands with the white chief and all the white men present. Then he bared his right arm and with

eloquent gesture and eyes flashing fire made a long speech, thanking the One Above, who is our Chief, and the Great Mother for sending the Mounted Police to save them from the effect of the cursed fire-water, which was destroying their young men, and for the peace that was to come."

This thumb nail sketch by an eye witness gives a vivid picture of Crowfoot in his prime. Soon the deadly and demoralizing traffic was stamped out. The benefit to the Blackfeet showed in their returning prosperity. But with the return of their manhood their pride of territoriality returned, and they began to fear that though the police had benefited them they might aid the slowly-increasing number of white settlers in taking away their lands gradually and without any equivalent.

The Government of Canada began in 1871 to make treaties with the Indians whereby they, for certain specified payments and other considerations, ceded their rights in the land which had been theirs from time immemorial. By 1876 six treaties had been negotiated which covered practically all of the prairie provinces with the exception of the Blackfoot territory, comprising about 50,000 squares miles in the southwestern part of Alberta. These warlike and intelligent, but intractable, people were anxiously awaiting such a treaty, and becoming dangerously restless and uneasy at the steadily increasing number of settlers on their lands.

Finally in 1877 the commissioners arrived to negotiate the treaty with the Blackfeet, afterwards known as Treaty Number 7. It had been intended to hold the parley at Fort Macleod, the head-quarters of the North West Mounted Police; but Crowfoot, "the leading chief of the Blackfeet", requested that the scene be the Ridge-under-Water, the Blackfoot Crossing of the Bow River. Shortly after the commissioners reached the agreed meeting place Crowfoot, "the principal chief of the Blackfeet" came to them to enquire when the negotiations would commence. During the interval he and some other chiefs under his influence refused to accept any rations from the Government until they learned what terms were to be offered. Lieutenant-Governor Laird, one of the commissioners, in his report, dealing with this point said:

"He (Crowfoot) appeared to be under the impression that if the Indians were fed by the bounty of the Government they would be committed to the proposals of the Commissioners, whatever might be their nature. Though I feared this refusal did not augur well for the final success of the negotiations, yet I could not help wishing that other Indians whom I have seen, had a little of the spirit in regard to dependence upon the Government exhibited on this occasion by the great Chief of the Blackfeet."

The next day, however, when assured that the acceptance of provisions would not be regarded as committing them to the terms, Crowfoot accepted his share of rations. The commissioners then outlined the terms. After hearing them without interruption or comment Crowfoot stated that he would not speak that day; he would think over the proposals. The following day he came to the Lieutenant-Governor's tent with an interpreter to ask for explanations upon certain points.

A day later when the gathering re-assembled Crowfoot was ready. He had made up his mind. The Commissioners, having intimated that they would hear the views of the chiefs, Crowfoot was the first to speak. That speech was worthy of the occasion; it was the speech of a big man, a man of strength and vision.

"While I speak, be kind and patient. I have to speak for my people, who are numerous, and who rely upon me to follow that

course which in the future will tend to their good. The plains are large and wide. We are the children of the plains; it is our home, and the buffalo has been our food always. I hope you look upon the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Sarcees as your children now, and that you will be indulgent and charitable to them. They all expect me to speak now for them, and I trust the Great Spirit will put into their breasts to be a good people—into the minds of the men, women and children, and their future generations. The advice given me and my people has proved to be very good. If the Police had not come to the country, where would we be all now? Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast that very few, indeed, of us would have been left to-day. The Police have protected us as the feathers of the bird protect it from the frosts of winter. I wish them all good, and trust that all our hearts will increase in goodness from this time forward. I am satisfied. I will sign the treaty."

Little wonder is it that the other chiefs: Red Crow, Father of Many Children, and Old Sun, announced their acceptance: "I will sign with Crowfoot." "I agree with Crowfoot and will sign," "We all agree with Crowfoot." And even less wonder is it that there has grown up a tradition amongst the Blackfeet that as soon as Crowfoot's adhesion to the treaty was announced the Governor's cannon was fired.

Crowfoot now became the Grand Sachem of the Blackfoot confederacy, a position which became more and more solidified as the passing years brought to his tribe a clearer understanding of the benefits of the treaty. About two years after this famous speech had been made he, in the interests of the harmony and goodwill, visited the neighbouring tribes. Everywhere he was received with the greatest respect and friendliness until he reached the Assiniboin, a Siouzan people who had joined the Crees. As he and his party approached the Assiniboin camp they were met by a welcoming delegation. One of these delegates refused to offer the hand of friendship, and suddenly began to lash Crowfoot with his quirt. Some of the Blackfeet braves immediately intervened and would have shot the Assiniboin on the spot but for the interference of Crowfoot who paying no attention to the wrangle exerted himself for peace and goodwill and actually placed his hand over the muzzle of the threatening gun to prevent bloodshed. Such conduct in one known to be fearless made a deep impression upon the Assiniboins. A blow had always brought a blow in return; this seemed a practical application of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. But, though Crowfoot refused to chastise his assailant, Black Horse, an Assiniboin chief, took in hand the punishment of the offending members of his tribe. Before Crowfoot left the lodges of the Assiniboins ample and profuse apologies were offered him for the insult.

About 1884 Louis Riel, that Stormy Petrel, sent his emissaries amongst the Indians of the Plains spreading the rumor that the whites were in the country to take away the land from the Indians and that the promises made in the various treaties would never be kept. This propaganda made some headway amongst the Crees. Sir Samuel Steele in his "Forty Years in Canada" (p. 180) says that one of these runners was amongst the Blackfeet urging that the Indians could kill the settlers' cattle if they chose for the lands was theirs and the white settlers were mere interlopers. According to Steele these arguments made an impression upon Crowfoot, whose former friendly demeanor changed to one of hostility. However, the arrest and removal of Riel's representative and a heart-to-heart talk with the officers of the Mounted Police brought Crowfoot back to himself again.

About a year later broke out the North West Rebellion. Though the war-zone lay near the confluence of the North and South Saskatchewan rivers the whole of the western prairies was seething with unrest or at any rate in a condition that caused much uneasiness in the authorities. And yet there was no doubt about Crowfoot. Even Major-General Strange in his report p. 52 says: "Chief Crowfoot though, perhaps, personally sincere in his professions of loyalty, was unable to control all the young men of this tribe", who, he thinks, would have risen had the Government troops sustained a reverse. On other hand the Lieutenant-Governor the Honourable Edgar Dewdney had no doubt: "The messages we have from Crowfoot are of a very friendly nature, and if we should require assistance from him in the shape of men for scouts we can get them." (Gunner Jingo's Jubilee, p. 410). The question in the end would have been; had Crowfoot sufficient control over his tribe to curb the warlike desires of his young braves? To that question it is believed that there could be but one answer: Yes. The Blackfeet claim that the warriors were about equally divided in opinion, and that Crowfoot went amongst the disaffected explaining that the origin of the rebellion lay in the refusal of the Great White Mother to recognize the claims of the half-breeds to lands that she knew rightfully belonged to the Indians. "Crowfoot," they say, "received a message from his friend General Strange AH PO PI. In this message AH PO PI wanted to know what attitude the Blackfeet had towards the fighting in the North, and also wished to know if his friend Crowfoot were able to maintain peace... Crowfoot replied to his friend AH PO PI not to be afraid and to rest assured that the Blackfeet would not take sides with any party but would remain neutral."

And so it was. Through the whole of that tense springtime the detachment of North West Mounted Police at Gleichen in the Blackfoot reserve was never called upon for any assistance to maintain peace and order amongst Crowfoot's people.

Crowfoot was now fifty-five years of age; admired, even adored by the Blackfeet, respected by the white people, a tower of strength in every effort towards peace and good understanding. The remaining five years of his life were quiet and uneventful. In 1890, at the age of sixty came the end; his work was done. And most fittingly he lies overlooking that spot so dear to the Blackfoot heart, the Ridge-under-Water, the spot where he had proven his right to be called, as the plain cross at his grave-head has it, "THE FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE."

F. W. HOWAY.

SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

By THE NATIONAL PARKS SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

During the past year work in connection with the preservation and marking of historic sites throughout Canada, eminently national in character, and the commemoration of the public services of a number of outstanding personages associated with its early history, selected and recommended for attention by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, which acts in an advisory capacity to the department, was steadily carried on and as a result very favourable progress was made.

A general meeting of the board was held when several important matters were discussed and a further selection of sites made for attention in future years.

Mr. Maréchal Nantel was appointed as a member of the board from the province of Quebec to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. P. Demers.

From the several sites considered to date by the Board, two hundred and forty-six have been declared of sufficient national importance to receive the attention of the department. Control of one hundred and seventy of these has been obtained and one hundred and fifty-five memorials have been erected.

A summary of last year's operations is enumerated hereunder:—

SITES MARKED

Fort La Have, La Have, N.S.

A field stone cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected on the lighthouse reserve at Fort Point, to mark the site of the fort built by de Razilly, Lieutenant-Governor of Acadia, in 1632, when France determined to establish permanent settlements there, and from which he administered the colony for a time. The memorial was unveiled with fitting ceremonies on September 5, 1929.

Admiral d'Anville's Encampment, near Halifax, N.S.

A cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected on a small plot of land at the intersection of the old French Landing and Bedford roads, donated by Mr. E. Clayton, to mark the site of the encampment of the expedition sent from France in 1746, under the command of Duc d'Anville, to recover Acadia. While at Chebucto d'Anville died and many of his men fell victims of fever. Owing to storms and disease the enterprise was an utter failure. The unveiling of the memorial was carried out with due impressiveness on September 4, 1929.

Fort Jemseg, Lower Jemseg, N.B.

A cut stone monument, with a bronze tablet affixed to it, was erected on a small plot of land adjacent to the main highway passing that point, which was donated by Mr. F. C. Nevers, to mark the site of the fort built in 1659 by Thomas Temple, during the English possession of Acadia. It was ceded to France in 1667 and captured by a Dutch expedition in 1674 who named the country New Holland, claiming possession for the Prince of Orange. The memorial was unveiled on September 21, 1929 by the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick.

Battle of the Petitcodiac, Hillsborough, N.B.

A cut stone monument, bearing a bronze tablet, was erected near the Canadian National Railway station at Hillsborough to commemorate the events associated with the engagement which took place there on September 3, 1755, between a detachment of Major Frye's troops, sent from Fort Cumberland to destroy Acadian settlements on the river and compel the people to surrender for deportation, and a French force under Charles Deschamps de Boishébert. The unveiling of the memorial took place with appropriate ceremonies on October 19, 1929.

Major Gilfrid Studholme, St. John, N.B.

A cut stone monument, with a bronze tablet affixed to it, was erected on the summit of Fort Howe hill to commemorate the public services of Major Gilfrid Studholme, who was sent to the St. John district in 1776, following the Eddy rebellion in Chignecto, and which he successfully defended against American raiders by sea and land. He built Fort Howe in 1778 and was its commander. As Crown Agent he gave much assistance in settling the Loyalists in the province of New Brunswick in the years following the American Revolutionary War. The memorial was unveiled with fitting ceremonies on September 11, 1929.

Battle of Chateaugay, Allan's Corners, P.Q.

A bronze tablet was affixed to the granite monolith, erected by the Canadian Government in 1895, adjacent to the public road to Allan's Corners, to commemorate the events associated with the engagement which took place there on October 26, 1813, when a small Canadian force and a little band of Indians under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Michel de Salaberry defeated a large American army, which attempted the invasion of the province.

Côteau-du-Lac, P.Q.

A cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected adjacent to the public road at Côteau-du-Lac, to commemorate the early historic events connected with that place. A canal with three locks was constructed in 1779-80. Later a blockhouse and then a fort were built for its protection. These proved of great service in the wars of the American Revolution and of 1912. Côteau-du-Lac was for many years the chief port of entry for imports into Upper Canada.

The Royal Navy, Ile-aux-Noix, P.Q.

A bronze tablet was affixed to the south gateway leading to Fort Lennox, to perpetuate the memory of the services of the officers, seamen and soldiers of the Royal Navy, Provincial Marine, and Royal Marines, who fought in defence of Canada on lake Champlain in 1776-77 and in 1812-14.

First Railroad in Canada, St. Johns, P.Q.

A bronze tablet was affixed to the Canadian National Railway station building at St. Johns, to mark one terminal of the first railroad built in Canada, which led originally to Laprairie. It was constructed to connect lake Champlain with the river St. Lawrence and was officially opened for traffic on July 21, 1836, by Lord Gosford. Traffic between Montreal and New York was thereby greatly expedited.

Battle 6th September 1775, near St. Johns, P.Q.

A cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected on the St. Johns golf links, adjacent to the King's Highway, to commemorate the events associated with the engagement which took place at Montgomery's Creek on September 6, 1775, when an American invading army was compelled to re-embark and return to Ile-aux-Noix, owing to a surprise attack made on it by a force of Mohawk Indians and Indians from Lower Canada. This exploit created great enthusiasm in the country. The memorial was unveiled on October 19, 1929.

Pioneers of the Huron Tract, Goderich, Ont.

A bronze tablet was supplied the Huron Tract Association for erection on a pillar at the entrance to the town of Goderich to commemorate the life work of the men who opened the roads, felled the forests, builded the farmsteads, reaped the harvest—and of the women who made the homes and brightened and ennobled domestic life in the Huron Tract during a period of one hundred years.

Canada's First Electric Telegraph, Toronto, Ont.

A bronze tablet was affixed to the St. Lawrence market building which now stands on the site of the old Toronto City Hall, to mark one terminal of the first electric telegraph line in Canada, inaugurated December 19, 1846, over a line connecting Toronto with Hamilton. The system was built and owned by the Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company, organized 1846, incorporated 1847, and now operated as part of the Canadian National Telegraphs.

Niagara Portage Road, Stamford, Ont.

A stone monument, bearing a bronze tablet was erected on the Stamford Green, adjacent to the Portage road, to commemorate the events associated with the Queenston-Chippawa portage road, opened by United Empire Loyalists in 1788. It was the principal route of travel and trade to the Upper Lakes region until the opening of the Welland canal in 1829 and of railways in 1854, also an important strategic position

and line of communication during the war of 1812-14 and the rebellion of 1837-8. The memorial was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on September 21, 1929, in accordance with arrangements made by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

The Coming of the Mohawks, Deseronto, Ont.

A bronze tablet was provided for the Mohawk Indians of the Tyendana Indian reserve for affixment to the cairn which they erected to commemorate the arrival on May 22, 1784, of a band of Loyal Mohawks, one of the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy who were expelled from their homes in the Mohawk valley for their fidelity to the unity of the Empire. The unveiling of the memorial was carried out, on June 19, 1929 in the presence of a large and representative gathering.

Bishop Alexander Macdonell, St. Raphael, Ont.

A cut stone monument, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected adjacent to the public highway, in front of the Parish Church at St. Raphael West, in recognition of the eminent public services of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, 1760-1840, as a patriot, military chaplain, educator and legislator. He lived and laboured with success at that place for many years.

Ridgeway Battlefield, Ridgeway, Ont.

A cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected on a small plot of land adjacent to the Garrison road, donated by the township of Bertie, to perpetuate the memory of the officers and men of the Queen's Own Rifles, 13th Hamilton Battalion, Caledonia and York Rifle Companies of Haldimand, who fought there in defence of their country against Fenian Raiders, on June 2, 1866. The unveiling ceremonies took place on September 20, 1929, in accordance with arrangements made by the Welland County Historical Society.

Battle of the longwoods near Glencoe, Ont.

A cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected on a small plot of land, adjacent to the Provincial highway at Battle Hill, donated by Mr. Roy Henderson, to commemorate the events associated with the engagement which took place there on March 4, 1814, between British and United States troops.

Starting Point Brock's Expedition, Port Dover, Ont.

A cairn, to which is affixed a bronze tablet, was erected in Powell Park to mark the site from which Major General Isaac Brock with 40 men of His Majesty's 41st Regiment and 260 of the York, Lincoln, Oxford and Norfolk militia set out on August 8, 1812, to relieve the invaded western frontier. His brilliant capture of Hull's army at Detroit, with a much smaller force saved the province to the Empire and made Brock "The hero of Upper Canada."

Fort Fork, near Berwyn, Alta.

A cairn, to which is affixed a tablet, was erected on a plot of land adjacent to the road allowance passing through river lot 19, Shaftesbury Settlement, donated by the local municipality, to mark the site of the fort built by Sir Alexander Mackenzie on the bank of the Peace river, in 1792, and from which he set out the following year on his quest for the Western sea. The memorial was unveiled with fitting ceremonies on July 1, 1929.

The Last Spanish Exploration, Point Grey, B.C.

A cut stone monument, to which is affixed a tablet, was erected in the small park of the British Columbia University Endowment Lands, between the waters of English bay and Marine drive, to commemorate the events associated with the passing of Spanish power from the Pacific coast of Canada in June, 1792.

Fort Steele, B.C.

A cairn, to which is affixed a tablet, was erected on a small plot of land adjacent to the Fort Steele highway, donated by Mr. William A. Drayton, to mark the site of the first North West Mounted Police fort in British Columbia, built by Superintendent Sam Steele and the officers and men of "D" Division. The presence of this famous force, acting under the able and tactful command of Steele, secured peace and order in the country at a critical time.

ACQUISITION AND PRESERVATION OF SITES

The following action was taken with regard to the acquisition of historic sites, recommended for commemoration by the board, and for the improvement of other properties already controlled by the Department.

Louisbourg, N.S.

The remaining buildings, with the exception of the caretakers residence and one for a museum were demolished and removed; the site fenced; a rest room provided; a flag pole erected; the casemates cleaned out and repaired and a new road built and surfaced from the entrance to the Headquarters building.

Fort St. Peters, St. Peters, N.S.

Permission was obtained from the Department of Railways and Canals to erect a memorial on their reserve at St. Peters, to mark the site of the fort and trading post built by Nicholas Denys, in 1650.

First Coal Mine in Cape Breton, Port Morien, N.S.

A plot of ground, 50 feet square, adjacent to the road leading to Long Beach at Port Morien, was donated by the Dominion Coal Company on which to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the events associated with the establishment of the first regular coal mining operations in America by the French, in 1720.

Fort Ste. Anne, N.S.

A plot of land 25 feet square, adjacent to the Baddeck Cape North highway was donated by Mr. George E. Fader on which to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the site of the fort built there for the protection of the French settlement in 1629.

First Atlantic Cable, North Sydney, N.S.

A licence of occupation was executed with the Western Union Telegraph Company, granting permission to place a tablet on the outer wall of the Company's Cable Building at North Sydney, to commemorate the events connected with the laying of the first submarine telegraph cable in North America.

Wolfe's Landing, Kennington Cove, N.S.

A plot of land facing Gabarus bay was donated by Mr. D. A. McInnis, on which to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the place where the men of Brigadier-General James Wolfe's brigade landed on June 8, 1758.

Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour), N.B.

A water supply was provided for the convenience of visitors; the earthworks repaired; a parking area provided; and the entrance to the park improved.

Fort Monckton near Port Elgin, N.B.

An additional area of two acres, included in the original site, was purchased with a view to carrying out additional development work there.

First Export of Coal, Minto, N.B.

A licence of occupation was executed with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company granting permission to erect a cut-stone monument and tablet on their station grounds at Minto, to commemorate the events associated with the discovery and mining of the first coal for export in Canada.

Fort Chambly, Chambly, P.Q.

A water supply system was installed to the grounds and caretakers quarters; a portion of the old cemetery filled in and levelled; masonry and concrete retaining walls built along the river front; the inner walls repaired and pointed and a new electric lighting system, as well as a plumbing and sewage disposal, installed.

Benjamin Sulte, Three Rivers, P.Q.

A licence of occupation was executed with the city, granting permission to affix a tablet to the outer wall of the main entrance to the City Hall, to commemorate the public services of Benjamin Sulte as an historian and poet.

First Geodetic Survey Station, Kingsmere, P.Q.

A plot of land 25 feet square, on the summit of King mountain, was donated by Mr. Michael Mulvihill, on which to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the site of the first Geodetic Survey station in Canada, established in 1905 by Dr. W. F. King.

Opening of the St. Lawrence River to all Nations, Quebec, P.Q.

Permission was granted by the Quebec Harbour Commission to affix a tablet to the outer wall of their waiting room on the Princess Louise docks to commemorate the events associated with the opening of the St. Lawrence river to all nations, in January, 1850.

Chambly Canal, Chambly, P.Q.

A site was provided by the Department of Railways and Canals on the canal reserve at Chambly, on which to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the events associated with the construction of the Chambly Canal, which was first opened for navigation in 1843.

Fort Wellington, Prescott, Ont.

The blockhouse was reshingled on two sides; the exterior wooden surface repainted; the inner palissades repaired where necessary and other improvements made to the museum and ground. During the tourist season the place was a mecca for visitors.

Mattawa Portage, Mattawa, Ont.

A licence of occupation was executed by the Women's Institute granting permission to erect a cairn and tablet in a small park under their control, at the intersection of Main and Water streets, to mark the site of the historic canoe route from Montreal to lake Huron and the Northwest.

Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas, Ont.

An area of five acres, north of the Talbot Road, was purchased on which to erect a memorial to mark the site of this prehistoric earthwork as an unique example of a double-walled aboriginal fort. Its antiquity and origin remain unknown.

Dominion Lands Survey System near Winnipeg, Man.

A plot of land 25 feet square, adjacent to the Portage Highway, at its intersection with the Principal Meridian, was donated by Hon. Aimé Bénard and Mr. John T. Haig, on which to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the site where the first monument on the Dominion Lands survey was placed, July 10, 1871.

Simon Fraser, Musqueam, B.C.

Permission was obtained from the Provincial Government to erect a monument and tablet at "Look-Out Point," adjacent to Marine Drive, at the west end of the Musqueam Indian Reserve, to mark the place where Simon Fraser ended his dangerous exploration of the Fraser river in July, 1808.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE

The following sites, events, and services of important personages have been recommended to the department for attention by the board, and will be dealt with in due course:—

Action at Bloody Creek, near Bridgetown, N.S.
 Battle of Grand Pré, near Grand Pré, N.S.
 St. Peters Canal, St. Peters, N.S.
 Paul Mascarene, Annapolis Royal, N.S.
 Martello Tower, St. John, N.B.
 Mallard House, St. John, N.B.
 Beaubears Island, near Newcastle, N.B.
 Fort Nerepis, near St. John, N.B.
 Battle of Repentigny, near Charlemagne, P.Q.
 Jacques Cartier's Landing, Gaspé, P.Q.
 First Paper Mill in Canada, St. Andrews, P.Q.
 Temiscouata Portage, Cabano, P.Q.
 Lachine Massacre, Lachine, P.Q.
 First Stage Coaches and Postal Service, Quebec, P.Q.
 Portages of the Chaudière, Hull, P.Q.
 Lachine Canal, Lachine, P.Q.
 Grenville Canal, Grenville, P.Q.
 Chambly Road, near Longueuil, P.Q.

Carillon Canal, Carillon, P.Q.
Cascades Canal, Cascades Point, P.Q.
First Patent in Canada, Ottawa, Ont.
Champlain's Landing Place, Morrison's Island, Ont.
Mission of Ste. Marie I near Midland, Ont.
Combat at Thomas McRae House near Chatham, Ont.
Nanticoke, Ont.
Glengarry Landing near Edenvale, Ont.
First Salt Works in Canada near St. Catharines, Ont.
First Petroleum Wells near Bothwell, Ont.
Butler's Burying Ground, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Normandale Furnaces, near Tilsonburg, Ont.
Yonge Street Highway, near Richmond Hill, Ont.
Danforth Road, Hamilton, Ont.
Dundas Street Highway, near Oak Ridges, Ont.
Capture of the Tigress and Scorpion, Penetanguishene, Ont.
Defence of Upper Canada, War 1812-14, Kingston, Ont.
Amherstburg Navy Yard, Amherstburg, Ont.
Fort Drummond, Queenston Heights, Ont.
Sir Gordon Drummond, Toronto, Ont.
Arctic Discovery and Exploration, Ottawa, Ont.
Indian Treaties, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Fort Henry, Kingston, Ont.
Glengarry Cairn near South Lancaster, Ont.
Galops Canal, Iroquois, Ont.
Rapide Plat Canal, near Iroquois, Ont.
Farran's Point Canal, Farran's Point, Ont.
Cornwall Canal, near Cornwall, Ont.
Trent Canal, Bobcaygeon, Ont.
Fort York, Toronto, Ont.
Fort Mississauga, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Burlington Heights, Hamilton, Ont.
Capture of United States Schooners, Ohio and Somers, Fort Erié,
Ont.
Six Nations Indians, Brantford, Ont.
The Crawford Indian Treaty, Kingston, Ont.
The Historic Carrying Place, Bay of Quinté, Ont.
Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill, Man.
Port Churchill, Man.
Duck Lake Battlefield, Duck Lake, Sask.
Battle of Fish Creek, near Rosthern, Sask.
Fort à la Corne, near Prince Albert, Sask.
Services of Alberta Field Force, North West Rebellion, Edmonton,
Alta.
Rocky Mountain House, Alta.
Fort Chipewyan, Alta.
Collins Overland Telegraph, Quesnel, B.C.
Fort Alexandria, B.C.
Fort Victoria, B.C.
Yukon Gold Discovery, Dawson City, N.W.T.

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(C) ANNUAL MEMBERS—*Continued*

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STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1930

RECEIPTS

1929			
April 30	Balance on hand.....		790 65
1930			
April 30	Sale of Dinner Tickets.....	72 00	
	Subscriptions	1,306 20	
	Bank Interest	21 59	1,399 79
			<hr/>
			\$ 2,190 44

DISBURSEMENTS

Expenses C.H.A. Meeting, Ottawa.....	22 20	
Chateau Laurier, Dinner.....	83 45	
Cunningham & Co., Auditors.....	10 00	
C.N. Telegraphs	12 03	
The Modern Press.....	40 54	
International Committee of Historical Sciences....	50 00	
University of Toronto Press.....	5 56	
Canadian Historical Review.....	391 25	
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.....	136 00	
Miss N. Stratton, Clerical Assistance.....	60 00	
G. Lanctot, Allowance as Fr. Sec. & Ed.....	200 00	
Norman Fee, Allowance as Sec.-Treas.....	400 00	
Bank Exchange	20 95	
		<hr/>
	1,431 98	
Balance on hand.....	758 46	\$ 2,190 44
		<hr/>

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